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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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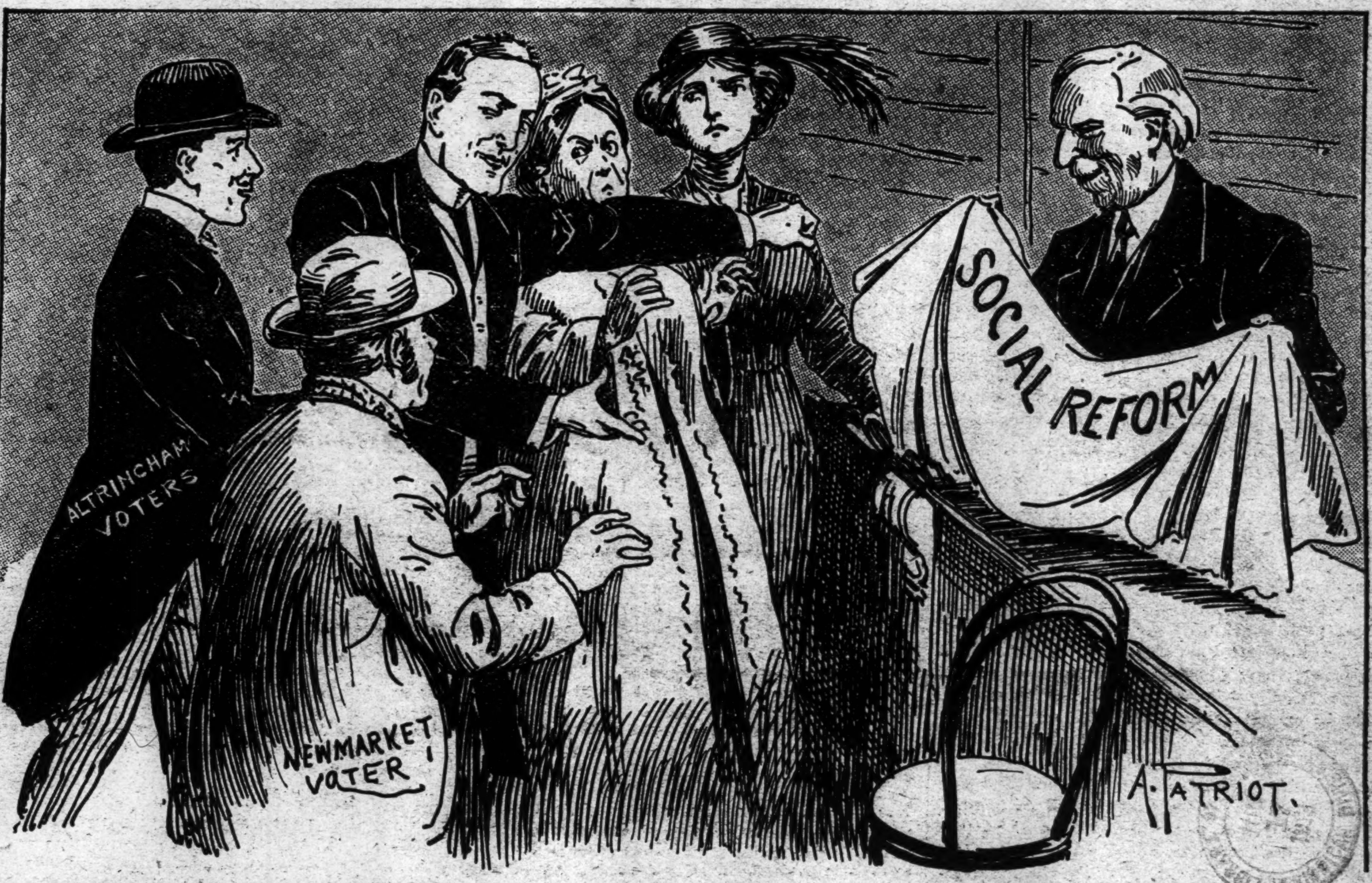
VOTERS FIRST—WOMEN NOWHERE!



SIR JOHN SIMON (Shopwalker): Forward, if you please, Mr. Asquith, with Social Reform for these gentlemen voters. The women can wait—they've no votes to pay for it.

("To the loss of an outpost at Newmarket and the repulse of an attack at Altrincham the Liberal party must reply by an advance all along the line." Sir John Simon at Oxford, May 31.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

We hear as we go to press news of the great drama and tragedy at Epsom. A woman, understood to be Miss Emily Wilding Davison, has rushed out in the middle of the great race for the Derby, and, seizing the rein of the King's horse, has brought rider and steed to the ground. According to the earliest report she was herself instantly killed. A later account states that she lies in hospital insensible with concussion of the brain and very serious injuries to her head, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether her life can be saved.

In the Presence of Death

In the presence, as it may very likely prove, of death itself we feel that the voice of criticism and rebuke will be hushed, and two thoughts only will hold the men and women of this country and of the whole world. The first is the thought of the tremendous courage and daring of the woman who has taken her life in her hands to make this protest. The second is of the wickedness of those in power who, by their refusal to listen to the voice of argument and reason, have driven women to desperate courses.

The Condition of Mrs. Pankhurst

After five days' hunger strike in prison Mrs. Pankhurst has again been released on license, the period of respite accorded to her on this occasion being only eight days. Accordingly, as she came out of prison on Friday last, the authorities are entitled to arrest her again to-morrow (Saturday) if they wish. No doubt they are not very likely to do so, because of the condition of her health, which is reported to be very serious; but her rearrest will only be postponed, because it is the declared intention of the Government to carry out their diabolical Cat and Mouse policy relentlessly. We may therefore expect to have once more bulletins of slowly returning health, to be followed by a fresh imprisonment bringing the victim to the door of death, and so on in a long drawn out awful sequence. We call upon all men and women, whatever their views upon the actions of the revolutionary Suffrage party, to put a stop to this outrage upon our twentieth century civilisation!

Printer Committed for Trial

Edgar Whitely, the printer of the issue of the *Suffragette* of May 9, has been committed for trial at the Manchester Assizes on a charge of conspiracy. Sir William Cobbett, for the defence, put forward two contentions. Firstly, he argued that whatever the contents of the particular issue, it was absurd that the doctrine of conspiracy should be strained to cover the case of a printer who was merely acting as a tradesman, who had had no dealings with the other persons charged, except on one occasion to print their paper. In the second place, he argued that there was no evidence of any illegality whatever in the particular issue. He was overruled, however, on both points by the magistrate, who held that there was sufficient *prima facie* case on which to commit Mr. Whitely for trial.

Civil Actions for Damages

The first of the two consolidated Civil Actions which certain firms of tradesmen are bringing against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and others to recover damages on account of the windows broken in March of last year, was due to commence yesterday (Thursday) morning. The claims in this action are on behalf of four firms, and amount in all to a little over £300; should a verdict be given by the jury against the defendants to the action, the plaintiffs would be entitled to recover the whole damage from any one of them. We propose to give a full account of this case in our issue next week. The second action, in which ninety-three plaintiffs are involved, is due to commence on Monday week (June 16).

Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Mr. Pethick Lawrence

The adjourned meeting of creditors of Mr. Pethick Lawrence was held on Wednesday last, when the Official Receiver stated that he now held a proxy from the Director of Public Prosecutions which was in order. The corrected amount claimed was £614 15s. 1d., and this was the only debt proved. Mr. Pethick Lawrence reiterated his decision as a matter of principle not to pay the money voluntary, and a resolution for adjudicating him a bankrupt was accordingly carried. The London County Council subsequently submitted a "proof" for £206 8s. 3d. which, together with the amount claimed by the Director of Public Prosecutions, comprises the costs of the prosecution of May last year.

Votes for Women Fellowship in Hyde Park

Our readers are reminded that the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship are holding a special meeting in Hyde Park next Sunday, at 5 o'clock, when fellows and others are particularly invited to be present. The new flag of the Fellowship—purple, white, and red—will be flown from the lorry, and the speakers will be Lieut. and Mrs. Cather, Mrs. Brailsford, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Remand Prisoners

We draw attention to an important article in this week's issue by Mr. G. R. S. Taylor, dealing with the treatment of persons who, being refused bail, are confined in prison on remand or awaiting trial. From this it will be seen that though by the English law all persons are presumed to be innocent until they have been found guilty, yet as a matter of fact such persons have to undergo treatment in prison not substantially different from that to which they would be subject as convicted prisoners. This is particularly the case where, owing to their poverty, they are unable to take advantage of the slight concessions which are made in their favour. The true state of affairs is often recognised by judges, who not infrequently deduct from the sentences of persons found "guilty" the period during which they have been in prison "unconvicted," and substantial redress is therefore made in such cases. But what about persons found "not guilty"?

The Reform of the Jury

The Report of Lord Mersey's Departmental Committee on Juries has been anxiously waited by women, and brings them nothing but disappointment. There is not a word of recommendation in it as to the service of women on juries, and until this essential reform is effected no suggested change in the constitution of the jury can have any real value in the eyes of women. It is stated in the Minority Report that "A jury system which excludes a great body of the working classes can never command their confidence and respect." How can the confidence and respect of women be commanded by a jury system which excludes the whole body of women? It is, however, the voter who counts; and from the recommendations of the Report and the comments made on them by the party Press, we gather that the hardship to women of being tried by a jury of men only is as nothing compared with the hardship to a Liberal of being tried by a jury composed of a majority of Conservatives, or to a Conservative of being tried by a jury containing a majority of Liberals. We notice also in some of the newspaper criticisms a dangerous tendency to advocate the abandonment of trial by jury in civil actions. This tendency, if not resisted, may lead to a similar demand in criminal proceedings. Already the power of magistrates is being widely extended with a detrimental result with which Suffragists are only too familiar.

Women and the Civil Service

A memorial has been sent to the Prime Minister asking for wider opportunities for women in the Civil Service. That such a recommendation is just must be obvious, that it is in the interests of good administration is equally clear, seeing that at present posts for which women are well fitted are given to men of lower qualifications solely on the ground of sex. But whether it will receive adequate attention so long as women are denied the driving power of the Parliamentary franchise is more than doubtful. Meanwhile, we note that the memorial is signed by Anti-Suffragists as well as Suffragists.

Another Attack on Liberty

The House of Commons has passed by an overwhelming majority the second reading of the Mental Deficiency Bill. This Bill is only a slight improvement on the Bill of last year, which all true friends of liberty united in regarding as of the utmost danger to the community. No one can be more conscious than we are that *some* Bill dealing with this subject is required, but this particular Bill ought to be rejected at all costs.

Miss Goldstein's Campaign

A special cable from Miss Goldstein to VOTES FOR WOMEN informs us of the result of the Kooyong election, in which she was standing as an independent candidate for the Australian House of Representatives. Miss Goldstein secured 10,000 votes as against 16,000 polled by the successful candidate. She further informs us that her campaign throughout the constituency was received with great enthusiasm. We congratulate Miss Goldstein upon her pluck in carrying out the contest and in her success in securing so large a vote without the help of any of the recognised political parties.

Execution of a Chinese Suffragist

If it is true that the Chinese Suffragist who, according to the correspondent of the *Daily News*, has just been executed at Tientsin with nine other revolutionaries, is the Mrs. Chang who has done so much to raise the position of women in China, then we have to lament a very real loss to the woman's movement all over the world. It was Mrs. Chang who inspired the women to form themselves into a fighting battalion and aid the men rebels who rose in February, 1912, to fight for freedom; it was she who, when the fight was won and the men tried to cheat the women of their fruits of the victory, invaded the Assembly at Pekin and forced attention to the women's claims so that at least Municipal Suffrage was granted to them in one province. We understand further that this brave pioneer was a short time ago expelled from the British Concession as a dangerous revolutionary. We can quite believe it. The British Government at home sets the example to the British Consulate abroad in the treatment of woman reformers. But we had hoped better things of the new Chinese Government. Is China, like Turkey, going to hasten its own annihilation by repudiating the help of its women?

Items of Interest

All Suffragists will unite in hearty congratulations to Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson on his new honour. As an actor of a very high intellectual order he has won a great public all over the world; but we venture to think that nothing in his career will live so long after him or is so deserving of honour as the record of what he has done in support of the women's fight for freedom.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Red

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will hold a meeting in Hyde Park next Sunday at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The platform will be decorated with the new VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship banner: purple for royalty, white for purity, and red for sacrifice. The speakers will be Lieutenant and Mrs. Cather, Mrs. Brailsford, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The meeting has been arranged to last about half an hour, and all Fellows in London are asked to rally to the platform as a demonstration of unity and enthusiasm.

Day by day brings a steady influx of new members into the Fellowship. We are particularly glad to have the signed card this week of the chairman of the Men's Political Union, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, not that his signature was necessary as a proof of his co-operation and support. For his service to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship from its inception has been as whole-hearted and invaluable as his service to the entire Women's Movement. Few have done more, given more, and sacrificed more than he has for this supreme and dominating issue of human liberty.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship provides a common meeting ground for members of all the various Suffrage societies, whether militant or non-militant. It exists for a very distinct and definite purpose, that of educating and arousing public opinion throughout the country, and rallying the sympathy and the support of the public to those who are fighting the battle of emancipation. Its members devote themselves directly or indirectly to a campaign of political propaganda, and especially to the ever wider circulation of the non-party paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, which, independent of all sections of the Suffrage agitation, addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement both in its constitutional and militant development; shows the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt; stimulates opposition to the Government's foolish policy of provocation and coercion, and appeals to all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure to bear upon the King's Ministers to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Membership is open to all men and women who are in sympathy with this purpose, whether they belong already to some Suffrage organisation either militant or non-militant, or whether they are hitherto unattached from all societies. Many and varied are the methods of service once the bond of union has been ratified. Every individual, however lonely or feeble or poor, who believes in the human equality of men and women, can help to win the battle of women's political freedom.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

We are indebted to a new seller who has adventured on a capital pitch and already excited great interest. But as the time at her disposal is very limited, other sellers are wanted for the pitch. We can find good work for many fresh sellers. Will not all who can aid to "spread the gospel" in this way come along? The work is interesting and the paper sells well.

In order that work may not overlap, those who can give odd times to sell at meetings, &c., are particularly requested, if possible, to write to or see the Organiser, who attends at the Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, every Thursday morning, 10.30—1. She will be happy to meet sellers at other times if they will kindly let her know.

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FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To May 31, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	412	3	1
Anon	50	0	0
*Mrs. Kempster	0	2	6
*Miss K. B. Broadhurst	0	2	6
*Miss Grace Mann	0	5	0
Miss F. E. Jackson	0	5	0
Miss A. Edwards	0	1	0
*Mrs. Granville	0	5	0
Mrs. Hirst	1	0	0
Miss B. Harraden	2	2	0
Mrs. Lansbury	1	0	0
Miss K. Whitaker	0	2	6
*Mrs. Moore	0	1	0
*C. Herbert, Esq.	1	0	0
*Dr. K. Chapman	1	1	0
Mrs. Taylor	2	10	0
Miss A. J. Leslie	0	1	8
*Miss S. Murray	0	2	5
*Mrs. M. Crerar	0	3	0
*Mrs. Falkner-Murphy	1	0	0
*"Plodder"	0	2	6
*Miss B. Sainsbury	0	5	0
*Mrs. R. M. Fleming	0	5	0
Miss E. Clegg	0	1	0
Miss L. H. Westwood	0	1	0
Miss Meinetsberger: Extra on street sales	0	1	0
Miss M. Key	0	2	6
Miss A. F. Orchard	1	1	0
Per Miss Boulting	0	2	0
Dr. H. B. Hanson	0	5	0
Miss E. Edmond	0	10	0
Miss K. Noaks	0	2	0
H. Baille-Weaver, Esq.	0	1	0
Profit of M.P.U. Meeting Kingsway Hall, April 29th	6	7	6
Mrs. E. Griffin	0	2	0
Mrs. Girling	0	2	0
Miss M. Laws	0	10	0
Total	483	8	2

* Items marked thus are contributions to the Fund for special distribution of the paper.

SONIA

A SUFFRAGE SKETCH IN THREE EPISODES

By "Mariquita"

"I want you to know Dick Mannering's daughter," said Lady Kirkpatrick. "Sonia!" she called to a tall, brown-haired girl. "This is Mr. Charters," and the Cabinet Minister found himself face to face with the daughter of Sonia Petroffsky, the Russian Revolutionary.

"I knew your mother," he said simply to the girl. "Let us get away somewhere and talk." Sonia's big grey eyes glowed into his. "No one remembers her since my father died."

Thirty years before, Sonia Petroffsky, the artist, had been a passionate partisan of a little group of exiles, Socialists, Anarchists, suspects all, who met secretly in the orthodox way in a stuffy room behind a butcher's shop in Whitechapel. Geoffrey Charters met her in the old, poor days when he had not yet begun to make a name at the Bar. They had become great friends, and he had been found safe enough to be entrusted with all the secret plans, the difficulties and the dangers of these aliens.

Then, when trouble arose, she had called upon him suddenly, urgently, for help which he had refused. It would be professional suicide to appear as counsel for the defence in a case connected with an Anarchist plot, a case which was bound to be lost, and lost with publicity. He argued it to and fro eternally in his mind, but he knew, he knew from the beginning, that he would refuse.

There was the day when he saw her for the last time. The sordid London lodging-room was very gloomy on that December afternoon, and the fire was out; there was a little lamp that smoked; he was very cold, and Sonia stood before him pale and dull. He had never seen her grey eyes hopeless before that day.

"You could save them." She did not look at him.

"I cannot give up my career."

"I have given up mine!"

"But, Sonia, art! It is not the same thing!"

"It is to me. But we shall struggle on without you. Good-bye." She did not hold out her hand, and her eyes were like cold steel.

The case was lost, and Geoffrey heard no more of her until the news came that she had been sent to Siberia. It was then that he discovered that she had married an Englishman—and there was a little child, also Sonia.

Sonia was so like her mother that Geoffrey felt the years slipping away from his shoulders as he talked with her. Vaguely, painfully, in the recesses of his mind stirred the memory of the Sonia of old, and the refusal which ended their friendship. Automatically he tried to make things right with himself, and as he talked, he was promising himself to be good to this girl. "I will stand by Sonia's daughter," he thought; "by Heaven, that would make up—a little."

II.

On the morrow they had arranged a motor drive. Sonia came down tall and mysterious in a long, grey coat and yards of grey motor veil. She enjoyed speed, so to please her he set the big car racing and humming over the Sussex downs towards the sea. They hardly spoke until the stop for lunch, over which they hurried in order to walk down to the beach.

They set out, talking of the day, the wind, the colour of it all. Her veil blew over his sleeve.

"You look like a puss-moth, Sonia," he laughed, trying to keep light, "a grey, mysterious thing. Are you mysterious?" He touched her shoulder, and she turned and looked at him. Her eyes pulled him back to the past.

"Sonia," he said, gravely, "I loved your mother." Impulsively, she kissed his hand. He took her head between his hands and kissed her on the forehead. "My dear," he said, "I would do anything for you—because of her."

They walked for a long time in silence; then suddenly, she said sharply, "I wonder if you mean that."

"Mean what?" He was dreaming of her mother.

"That you would do anything for me—because of her?"

"Yes." To himself he added, "I will pay, Sonia; not you—not you, but your child."

"Yes," emphatically. "I meant every word."

"Then——" she drew a long breath, "will you promise me——"

As she spoke, Geoffrey's face darkened, his eyes grew angry. "You're not one of that crowd, Sonia? A lot of silly, hysterical women crying for the moon—mere parrots. Parrots——" his voice rose, "unsexed creatures——"

Sonia hardened. "You loved my mother. You said so. If she had asked you to help her revolutionaries you would have done it."

Geoffrey groaned aloud.

Swiftly she caught his hand. "Don't you see that it is the same thing? We've got to work straight for what we believe in, mother and I."

"Don't answer now," she added hurriedly, as they came back to the car. "Tell me later on, next week."

They drove back at once, in silence.

The next morning Sonia was gone; she had been called back to London. Three days later there was a raid in the West End, and she went to Holloway for three months.

Parliament opened for the Autumn Session, and Geoffrey was even busier than usual for a time. He hardly gave a thought to Sonia until he heard from Lady Kirkpatrick. "Sonia is hunger-striking," she wrote excitedly. "She has been forcibly fed. They are killing her."

Geoffrey felt suddenly old and alone. He sat crumpling the letter in his hand, thinking, thinking. The following week Sonia was released, and taken straight to a nursing home. For three days he resisted, and then sent flowers. In return he received a shaky note asking him to call.

III.

He was shown into a little white room, cool and noticeably bare, like a nun's cell. His roses stood by the bed. Sonia's face among the pillows looked strange to him, it was so small and so very white, and the grey eyes were bigger and more luminous than ever.

"Sonia!" He took her hand; then, involuntarily, "How ill you are!"

She did not reply, but lay looking up at him. Then, with characteristic directness, "Have you made up your mind?"

"Need we talk about that until you are better?"

"Yes. Have you?"

"If you will have it—I cannot, Sonia!"

Painfully he traced and retraced with his eye the pattern on her coverlet. He could not look at her. Then, hesitatingly, "My political career——"

"I have given up my career." Did she really say the words, or did the retort of thirty years ago still ring in his ears?

"I hated the raid," said Sonia, quietly, "and the trial, and prison. They forcibly fed me." She lay quite still.

"And I shall do it again."

"You would have made all the difference—all the difference." Her eyes blazed into his. "And we shall win, and you will not have helped." She turned away her head and closed her eyes.

The nurse came back. "You must not talk any more to-day!"

"Good-bye," said Sonia, without turning her head.

Geoffrey went straight down to Westminster, walking all the way. "Absurd," he said to himself, as he crossed the Square, "quixotic to the last degree."

As he passed through the doorway he suddenly stiffened and clenched his hands.

"God!" he muttered. "Twice, Sonia, twice!"

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THE HUNGER-STRIKER

'Tis by me now, that which I may not take;
The food and water that, for Love's great sake,.
I must refuse, preferring pain and death
Rather than cease the fight whilst I have breath.
"To-morrow we will come to you," they said;
Oh, visitors relentless, visit dread!
Behind the bars already fades the light.
What thoughts will bear me company this night?

Too well I know what now I face again;
The fight, defeat, the bursting eye and brain,
Revolt of outraged body, shame intense,
And black depression weighing on each sense.
The shadows deepen and the cell grows dim.
God, let there be no night, no morrow grim!

Coward, to shirk. Do you begrudge your share
In this great fight to make man's life more fair?
What though it cost your youth and health and life,
Are not these things the aim of all the strife,
That they may be for all, not for the few?
Rejoice this chance to give is offered you.

I will remember when they come to me
That women in far worse captivity
Do know the shame that rocks the very soul;
The road to save them takes a heavy toll!
Oh, greater shame on us should we once cease
To batter at the gates for their release.

How little light is left in this gray place.
I cannot help these tears upon my face.
The darkness fills my cell—I cannot see—
Great Light upon the Cross, shine now on me!

L. W.

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THE FORBIDDEN MEETINGS IN HYDE PARK

Abdication of the Police

Last Sunday, the police took the advice we have been offering them for some weeks, and made no attempt to interfere when the W.S.P.U. flags were unfurled in Hyde Park. As a result of this line of action, several very orderly and well-attended meetings were held by members of the W.S.P.U., and the hooligans, deserted by their uniformed allies, were unable to create disorder. Of course, the speakers were at a great disadvantage. In each case, as on previous Sundays, the woman had to announce her presence by unfurling her flag and addressing space; and although this was the instant signal for a crowd to collect, she had to take her chance of being surrounded by a group of insolent young roughs before the ordinary public had time to gather round her. Also, as she was allowed neither platform nor chair to stand upon, only the first half-dozen rows of people had any chance of seeing her, or much chance of following what she had to say. But in most cases the speakers overcame these difficulties, imposed on them by a reactionary Home Office, by speaking so well and so ably that they captured the decent portion of their crowd almost at once, and had very little trouble after that with the senseless interrupter; and in some cases men supporters rallied round them directly the flag flew out upon the breeze, and it fared badly with the West End hooligan if he started his ribald games within reach of a docker or a stevedore who had come all the way from the East End to see fair play done to the women who are fighting for their freedom.

"Here! Don't get too near the front," gasped one of these graceless young fellows to his friend, as they raced over the grass towards the fluttering purple white and green flag. "The chaps near the front want to hear, and we can't get in a word!"

That in itself was a refutation of the frequent assertions in the Press that the women speakers in the Park cannot get a hearing from an incensed public.

THE WOMAN FROM POPLAR

Several of these impromptu meetings were carried on at the same time between four and six o'clock. But two of them, addressed by Miss Hicks and by a working woman from Poplar, respectively, attracted particularly large audiences, and lasted for about an hour. In both cases, what attempts there were at disturbance were speedily quenched by the quick repartee of the speakers and the general temper of the audience, who obviously wanted to listen. The few police who were to be seen stood at a distance and smiled amiably. Only once did things look threatening. That was when an inspector and a constable approached the edge of a crowd, as if to break it up; but, fortunately, they moved away again without creating disorder.

The most interesting moment of the afternoon's battle for Free Speech was reached when the woman from Poplar—that was how the crowd described her, not knowing her name—silenced her idle interrupters with plain facts that they could not get behind.

"Well, *she's* not much to look at!" sniffed a young fellow in the crowd, when she began to speak.

A smartly-dressed woman—in less regenerate days she could easily have been mistaken for an "Anti"—turned upon him scornfully.

"What of that, if she has the brains to speak to us?" she demanded. "Why should she be good-looking to please *you*, pray? That's the kind of idea we are out to kill!" The crowd supported her with sympathetic murmurs; the youth's companion, seeing this, deserted him shamelessly.

"Got more than you looked for, old chap!" he sniggered.

Another boy, not profiting by this occurrence, called out rudely, "Who's looking after your children while you're speaking out here?"

Close to him was a young woman who had been listening intently to the speech that was being made. The interruption infuriated her. "How dare you—a child like you—insult a married woman like that?" she cried. And again the crowd was on her side, and the boy had to slink away.

Near the centre of the throng, some fellows started their usual game of hustling, and even began a music-hall song. Two working-men, both wearing South African war medals, gave them such a bad time that they had to desist. And as the insistent voice of the woman from Poplar went on, dealing out her terrible facts remorselessly, more and more men and women in the crowd openly supported her and refused to tolerate her tormentors. When an Anti-Suffragist lady tried to start an opposition meeting a little way off, she met with such able replies to her sweeping assertions that she had to give up the attempt.

"Tucked Shirts at 10d. a dozen"

"Some of you young gentlemen wear tucked shirts, I see," said the woman from Poplar. "Do you know that there are women where I come from making those shirts for 10d. a dozen, finding their own thread? You're very proud, some of you, of those stick-up collars of yours. You think they give you a right to knock the Suffragists about, don't you? Well, I know women and girls ironing those collars for 2d. a dozen, by steam power, so as they can't stop a second, or else it spoils the cloth. Oughtn't *that* to make the sweat come off your brows with shame?

"I'll tell you about a girl who came in to see me last night. 'You're a Suffragette,' she says to me; 'so's my mother. My mother, she says my conditions ought to make me into a Suffragette, too.' I'll tell you men what her conditions are—that is, if you *are* men." (A Voice: "There's a few of us about, mum!") "This girl fills tins with pepper, seals them up, and labels them. She gets 1s. for doing 242 tins, and it takes her a whole day to earn that shilling. And all the time she has to stop up her nostrils with plugs, and breathe through her mouth. How long do you suppose she'll live with that stuff going into her lungs? I tell you, the Suffragettes are teaching women to think——" (A Voice: "Aye, that's the trouble—when women begin to think!")—"*and they're not going to be slaves any longer!*" (Loud applause.)

Who said "Empire?"

"One o' you chaps began talking about the Empire, just now. My little girl came running in to me on Empire Day, and wanted an Empire flag to wave. I gave her a Suffragette flag, and she said it made the boys laugh at her. 'Never mind that,' I says to her. 'They laugh at your mother, too; but you tell them we're Suffragettes because we want to make things better every bit as much for the boys as the girls.' Empire, indeed! I'll tell you what I saw on Empire Day, down the court where I live:—a little boy, so thin you could almost see through him, without shoes or stockings, and so ragged you could see his poor little flesh shining through his clothes—and him running along and shouting, 'Empire! Empire!' with a Union Jack in his hand. 'Yes,' I says to myself, 'that poor little chap is what they mean when they shout Empire, is it?' No, we won't have it! What's the good of an Empire if it can't look after its children better than that?"

So it went on; but nothing in the speech of the woman from Poplar was more vivid than that little sudden picture of the dingy court and the unfed, unclothed child waving the Union Jack. No wonder Governments are afraid to let women speak!

OTHER MEETINGS HELD

Other Suffrage meetings were also held in Hyde Park. There was the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, there were also the Teachers' Franchise League, and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. But although they all had good audiences who were thoroughly interested by the able speeches delivered, the usual attempts were made by hooligans, *unhindered by the police*, to insult the speakers and break up the meetings.

A Timely Warning to the Police

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* utters a timely warning with regard to this matter. He says:—"The progress made in restraint of the hooligan is not likely to be maintained, however, unless some steps are taken to keep ordinary order in the parks while the meetings are in progress. To-day's experience goes to show that there is a public which is genuinely anxious to hear what the Suffragists have to say, and that there is another public which is equally genuinely anxious to provoke disorder. Anyone who has visited the park for the Sundays of the last two months can now have no difficulty in distinguishing these promoters of disorderliness, and if the police do not know them they are less than ordinarily observant. The hooligans bring in their wake a third public attracted by curiosity and the prospect of a scene, and if scenes were prevented this public would stay away. The police have said that it is not their business to secure a hearing for the speakers, and the point may be conceded. But it surely is their business to prevent obscene interruptions and to accord physical protection to those who are engaged in what is now admitted to be a lawful act. This is what they do not do. By allowing matters to go to the present lengths they are preparing for themselves greater difficulties against the time when it will be imperative for them to interfere. A firm step in time might save broken heads."

DRAMATIC DERBY PROTEST

Suffragist Seizes the King's Horse, and is Struck Insensible

Last Wednesday afternoon a dramatic protest was made during the running of the Derby by a militant Suffragist—a protest which may have tragic results. As the King's horse, Anmer, was sweeping round the bend at Tattenham Corner a woman suddenly rushed out from the crowd, and, flinging herself in front of the horse, caught hold of the bridle. The horse fell, throwing the jockey and severely kicking the woman, who was flung right under the animal. She lay insensible, and was removed to Epsom Cottage Hospital, where she was at first reported to have died soon after her arrival there. This report, however, proved later to be incorrect; and it was stated by the house-surgeon, in answer to inquiries, that she was alive, though suffering from severe concussion.

She had lain unconscious since her admission to the hospital, and it was impossible to say whether her life would be saved. At nine o'clock on Wednesday evening she had not yet recovered consciousness, and the wound in her head was regarded as exceedingly serious.

The jockey, according to the *Evening News*, was suffering from slight concussion, and his left arm was injured, but no bones were broken. The same paper stated that the doctor reported to the King that it would be possible to remove him to London by motor-car the same evening, and to his home at Newmarket the following day.

MISS EMILY DAVISON

Miss Davison's Career

The woman was said to have a purple, white, and green flag wrapped round her under her coat, and this was the first clue to her identity. The later editions of the evening papers gave her name as Miss Emily Wilding Davison, a name well known in militant Suffrage circles. Miss Davison, who is a graduate of London University, joined the Women's Social and Political Union in 1906, and has been imprisoned several times in the course of the militant agitation of the last seven years. She has been sentenced in all eight times, and has been forcibly fed in prison on more than one occasion. She has never failed to protest when the treatment of other women called for protest, no matter at what cost to herself. One of the earliest hunger-strikers, when the hunger-strike was first instituted to back up the Suffragists' demand for political treatment in prison, Miss Davison was also one of the first to be subjected to the abominable process of forcible feeding. This led, in October, 1909, to the hosepipe incident in Strangeways Prison, when she barricaded herself in her cell so successfully that the hose was turned upon her from the window in order to induce her to move away from the door and allow the prison officials to break it down. Although she sat in several inches of cold water, and was drenched to the skin, she did not give in. She was released on account of ill-health resultant on this treatment, and later, in January, 1910, won her case against the visiting magistrate who had given orders for the outrage to be perpetrated.

Another Protest Against Forcible Feeding

Last June when, almost day by day, Suffragists were being sent out from Holloway Gaol, wrecks of their former selves on account of the horrible torture of forcible feeding that had been inflicted upon them, Miss Davison, then undergoing a six months' sentence, determined to make a vigorous protest against the continuance of this abomination, and threw herself from the gallery on the first floor down to the wire netting below. The iron stairway broke her fall, but she injured her spine and was terribly bruised, a condition of things that did not prevent the prison medical officers from continuing to feed her by force until she was released, only ten days before her sentence was completed.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Ellis Griffith stated in the House of Commons that Miss Davison "sustained a few small bruises and abrasions, and as she complained of pain a specialist was called in and certified that there was no evidence of gross injury, nor any reason why forcible feeding should not be continued." Within a few days another specialist certified that she was suffering acutely from the injuries she had received in her fall, "which must have been considerably aggravated by the forcible feeding."

Other Militant Actions

Miss Davison has further made militant protests that did not lead to imprisonment. She has managed to evade detectives and firemen, and to conceal herself three times in the House of Commons with the object of making a verbal protest when the House assembled. On one occasion, April, 1910, she hid herself thus in the hot-air shaft.

Miss Davison has done a great deal of constitutional work for the cause to which she has sacrificed so much in other ways. The many letters in the Press which have appeared over her signature have done much to enlighten and remind the public of the historic basis of the women's demand for justice, and all who know Miss Davison personally know her for an intellectual, highly-cultured woman whom nothing but the impetus of a great cause would have forced into the path of political agitation and revolutionary action.

MRS. PANKHURST RELEASED

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was re-committed to Holloway Gaol on Monday, May 26, was released in a state of great weakness last Friday evening, after a four days' hunger-strike. She was removed in an ambulance, in itself an indication of the real opinion of the prison authorities with regard to her state of health, although the date named on the licence for her return to prison is June 7. She was pronounced by her own doctor, on her arrival home, to be extremely ill, and although we are glad to hear that by means of careful nursing she has recovered her strength to some extent, it is obvious that her return to face her terrible experience all over again at the end of eight days would be attended with the gravest risk.

An important point to be noted is that whereas Mrs. Pankhurst was released from prison on the first occasion (April 11) under the Penal Servitude Act, her licence on this occasion bears the heading "Prisoners' (Discharge for Ill-health) Act." This means that her period of release will not count as part of her sentence. Mrs. Pankhurst is, then, being subjected to the full penalties of the Cat and Mouse Act in addition to those which could be enforced against her as a penal servitude prisoner.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Letter

A letter was read from Mrs. Pankhurst at the weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. in the London Pavilion last Monday. After regretting her inability to be present at the meeting, Mrs. Pankhurst went on to say: "I am, however, most anxious to make it clear that this weakness is purely physical, and there is absolutely no ground for saying that I am in any way weakened in spirit by my recent imprisonment and all that it involved." She would be unable to be present at the opening of the summer fête, under the auspices of the W.S.P.U., at Kensington, but trusted that she would be able to attend before its close.

"By this time," Mrs. Pankhurst concluded, "you know the conditions of my temporary release. I treat its terms with the contempt which they deserve, and I intend to ignore them completely. When I recover from the Government's brutalities I intend to resume the work to which my life is given. If I am taken back to prison next Monday I shall resume my protest. Only the granting of the vote or death can end my personal share in the fight."

The reading of the letter was received with loud cheers.

THE WOMAN'S FIGHT ABROAD

THE KOOYONG ELECTION

MISS GOLDSTEIN'S PLUCKY FIGHT

While regretting that Miss Vida Goldstein's courageous attempt to enter the Australian House of Representatives was not crowned with success, we are extremely pleased, and not at all surprised, to learn from her cable to us (which we print on this page) that her election campaign was attended throughout with encouraging friendliness on the part of the Kooyong electors. From this intimation, and from Miss Hodge's account of the campaign, which we printed last week, we gather that Miss Goldstein's defeat belongs to those which are in effect victories under another name, and that her plucky fight has done a very great deal to maintain the political position of women in Australia.

"The Only One Who Polled Well"

There were three women candidates standing altogether in the Commonwealth elections, which took place last Saturday; and of these, says the *Daily Chronicle*, the only one "who polled well was Miss Vida Goldstein, who got within 6,000 of Sir Robert Wallace Best in Kooyong, Victoria, and scored over 10.000 votes."

The large number of votes polled by Miss Goldstein is the more remarkable that she stood as a non-party candidate, and had no backing from either of the great party organisations—Liberal and Labour—in the constituency. English Suffragists, knowing how their own cause has suffered from the party fetish in contemporary politics, will therefore understand how heartily Miss Goldstein is to be congratulated on the way she has come through her fight for the seat of Kooyong.

FROM MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN

(*Special Cable to* VOTES FOR WOMEN.)

Defeated. Polled ten thousand votes to sixteen thousand polled by opponent. Election campaign magnificent throughout: universal friendliness.

VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

"SCENE AT AN ELECTION MEETING"

Under the above title, Miss Margaret Hodge writes: "Chivalry has survived the giving of votes to women in this country. To prove this, we have only to contrast the treatment of women at election meetings in Australia with that which they receive in Great Britain. A prospective member of Parliament, after giving an address to his hoped-for constituents, was asked by a woman at question time whether he supported equal pay for equal work. He replied: "I will speak to you about that afterwards, Miss ——," giving her the name of a woman candidate which he knew was not hers. The audience, angry at what they considered was a mean and unfair way of evading her question, shouted on all sides: "Coward!" "Cad!" "Apologise!" And the candidate had to apologise politely."

What would that Australian audience say if they saw the way Englishwomen are treated at a Cabinet Minister's meeting over here, when they dare to ask for justice to be done to women?

◆

"NO UNDESIRABLES NEED APPLY"

Mr. A. H. Peake, Premier of South Australia, who has been over here on a visit, discussed several topics of interest, and among them Woman Suffrage, in an interview with some pressmen previous to his departure. He said the woman's vote "had answered excellently in South Australia," and went on to the still more interesting piece of information that it "had had the effect of preventing undesirable men from becoming candidates, and it had quickened to a very great degree the sense of power with respect to industrial and such matters."

◆

SUFFRAGETTE DIES FOR REFORM IN CHINA

According to the Tientsin Correspondent of the *Daily News*, ten persons were arrested in that city on May 19, by the direction of the Chinese Government, on charges of sedition. They were all shot. Among them, adds the correspondent, "was Miss Chang, the famous Suffragette, who was banished from the British Concession some time ago as a dangerous revolutionary. Suspicion was cast upon her in connection with a bomb found on Pekin Railway Station."

We suppose that the famous Suffragette referred to is the well-known Mrs. Chang, unless, in course of transmission, the name has been wrongly spelt, and Miss Tang is meant, the militant Chinawoman who, last December, led a body of revolutionary women into the Provisional Council in Pekin, and demanded an explanation of the refusal of the Council to give women the vote. In either case, the woman's cause in China, and therefore all over the world, has suffered a great loss in this tragic death of one of the champions of woman's freedom. A Government that can thus seek to rid itself of its political opponents by tyrannical violence cannot hope to build up a free Constitution, either for men or for women.

MRS. CHANG'S CAREER

If, as seems more probable, it is the widely-known Mrs. Chang who has died for the cause of progress in China, the world has lost not only a great reformer, but a striking and original personality. Long before the militant happenings of the Chinese Revolution, in which she took so striking a part, Mrs. Chang was known in Pekin as the editor of a daily paper, called *The Pekin Woman's Paper*, which was devoted entirely to the interests of women, and frequently contained news of the militant Suffrage movement in England. Unlike the ordinary Chinese lady, Mrs. Chang had been brought up and educated as well and as freely as if she were a boy, her father having no sons, and she thus acquired a wide outlook upon the conditions of her fellow-women which is not usual in China.

The Revolution of February, 1912

When the Revolution of February, 1912, broke out and caused an entire upheaval of the ancient Chinese Constitution, women, inspired by Mrs. Chang, took an active part in the fighting. We reproduce below a picture which appeared at the time in the *Sketch*, showing the Shanghai Battalion of Republican Chinese women, all of them educated women, and mostly daughters of well-to-do merchants. They mobilised in Nankin, and went to the front, where they helped the men to win the rights that they afterwards refused to extend to the women.

For it was with China, as with other countries. The men were ready enough to take the women's help, but extremely loth to let them share in the fruits of victory. Women were allowed to vote in the elections to the Provisional Assembly which met at Nankin, after the Revolution was over, to frame the new Constitution; but the Assembly contented itself, when elected, with a lukewarm expression of sympathy with the women's claims to full and permanent enfranchisement.

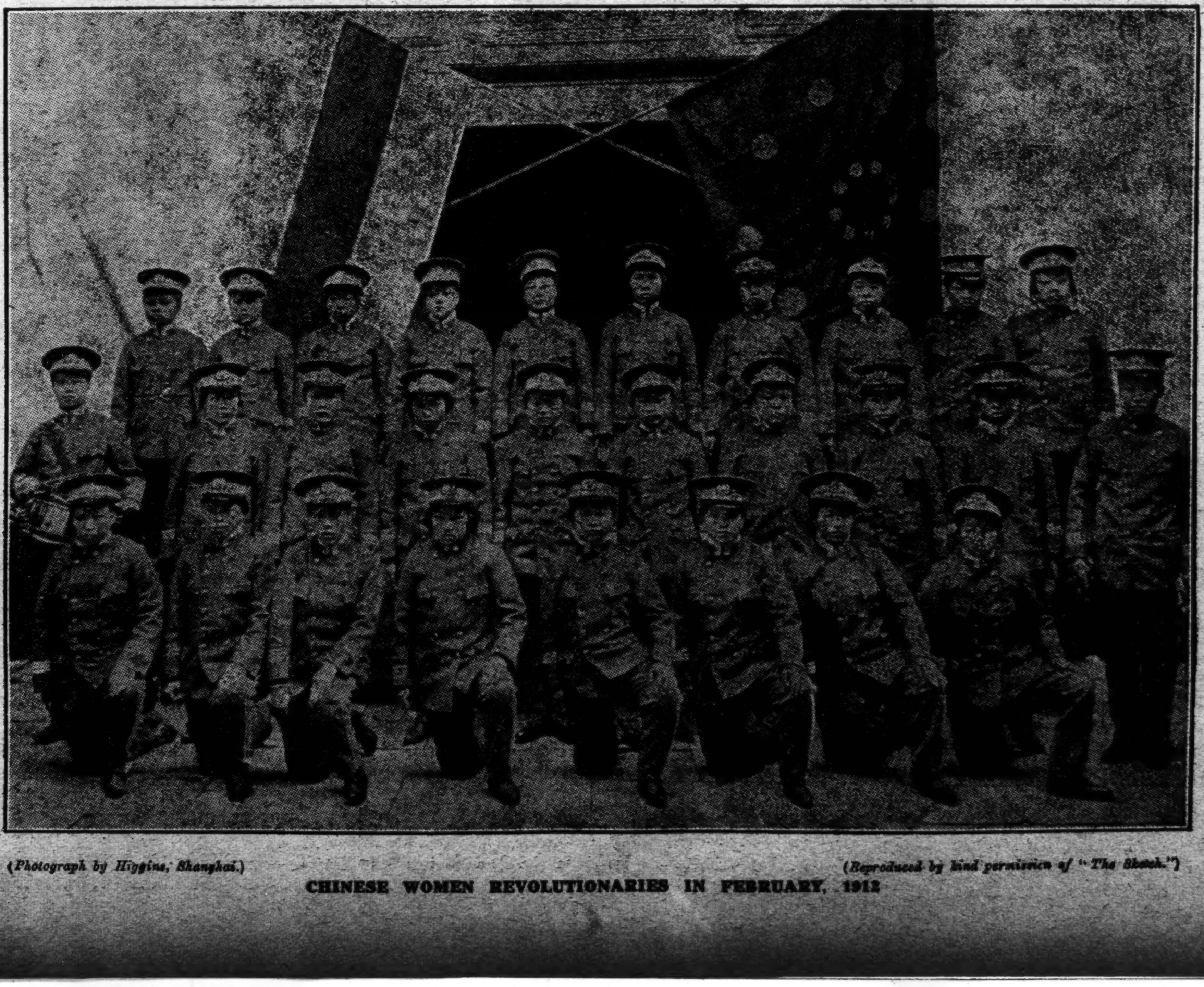
Not Good Enough for Mrs. Chang

This was not good enough, however, for Mrs. Chang and her gallant followers. In March, 1912, they invaded the Assembly House at Nankin, broke the windows, and were so insistent on their rights that in the end the women of one province, Canton, obtained a partial suffrage more or less equivalent to our municipal suffrage. Considering the backward condition of the average Chinese woman, this was a great victory for militancy. But it was naturally not all that Mrs. Chang and her followers were out to obtain. Hence the recurrence of militancy at Pekin last December, and the gradual growth of discontent at the slowness of the Reform movement, which culminated in the tragedy recorded in the *Daily News* last Tuesday.

"THE ANGLO-SAXON IDEAL"

The *Times*, in an interesting article on the Chinese situation, published last Tuesday, says that the "constitutional Moderates of Young China became alarmed at the excesses of political demoralization revealed by the Extremists, regarding them much as the bulk of the Women's Suffrage movement in this country regards the militant Suffragists," and relates with unction the action taken by the Municipal Council of Shanghai to stop inflammatory articles in the Press. When we read that the Council issued a proclamation in which it warned "all editors, reporters, printers, and publishers that any persons who venture, either directly or indirectly, to emit writings and pictures of this character will on detection at once be arrested and imprisoned," we can only suppose that China too has its Bodkins and its McKennas. And we are not surprised that the *Times* says of the persecuted revolutionaries in the same city that "more in sorrow than in anger they have been led to realise that the Anglo-Saxon ideal of free speech cannot be strained to permit of their continuing to use the Foreign Settlements as a centre of intrigue and conspiracy."

That is exactly what the Anglo-Saxon ideal of free speech is becoming in this country under a Liberal Government—an excuse to hand over reformers to the prison and the torture chamber.



(*Photograph by Higgins, Shanghai.*) (*Reproduced by kind permission of "The Sketch."*)

CHINESE WOMEN REVOLUTIONARIES IN FEBRUARY, 1912

THE LEGAL INEQUALITY OF WOMEN

By Lady Aberconway

(Reprinted from the "Nation," by kind permission of the Editor.)

In his speech on the Woman Suffrage Bill, the Prime Minister made many assertions with regard to the legal position of women which I believe to be quite unfounded. . . . He declared—I quote his own words—

> "The general argument I have presented might be displaced, and probably would be displaced, if it could be shown that the absence of direct representation in the House has caused, and is causing, a neglect by Parliament of the special needs and interests of the excluded class."

He added :—

> "The case which has been presented showing that in these matters the Parliament of the country has been unduly negligent of, or oblivious to, the interests of women is a case totally destitute of foundation and wholly incapable of proof."

The views of Lord Coleridge, late Chief Justice of England, contradict Mr. Asquith's assertion. He said :—

> "I can scarcely believe that if the House of Commons was as much aware as every lawyer is aware of the state of the law in England as regards women, even still after the very recent humane improvements in it, it would not hesitate to say it was more worthy of a barbarian than of a civilised State. If that be so, I do not think the wisdom of Parliament will be darkened, nor the justice of Parliament slackened, because those who appeal to that wisdom are entitled to be heard by reason of the possession of something like political power when they ask for justice. I believe fully that after a certain number of years the law, which I regard in many respects as wholly indefensible, will be altered. As it is, I believe the sense of justice on the part of men, if they are once aroused to it and convinced of the injustice, will in time bring about the reform needed; but I believe this reform will not be brought about so fast as it would be if we put into the hands of those who suffer from this injustice some share of political power."

Mr. Asquith may possibly attach weight to the words of Mr. Gladstone, who said, years ago, in the debates on the Divorce Bill :—

> "I consider that this Bill is a gross injustice to women in favour of men."

Was Mr. Asquith in the House during the debate on the Address in February, 1911, in reference to the Mann case? The father, who was a Catholic, had taken away the children from the custody of their mother, and Mr. Birrell admitted that the father, in committing this "wrong and cruel act," was only within his legal rights. The mother had no rights to her children. Did the Prime Minister hear Sir Edward Carson say that "if that was the state of the law, the time of the House ought to be taken from then until Easter to set right such a monstrous law"? Alas! there has never been any sign that His Majesty's Government intends to deal with this bitter grievance of mothers. Man is the only animal who denies to the mother the supreme control of her young.

Does Mr. Asquith remember the Dower Act, whereby, in 1836, the House of Commons deprived widows of a right, enjoyed from early Saxon times, to dower out of their husbands' lands? That Act placed it in the power of every husband to leave his widow penniless and homeless at his death. Is that not a case where Parliament was not only oblivious to the rights of women, but deliberately unjust? I know of no other civilised country where a man is allowed to enjoy his wife's services for a lifetime without payment, and then leave her destitute at his death. The law has a further hold upon the widow. In cases where a man exercises his right to disinherit his wife and children, the law imposes upon the mother the duty of supporting the children out of her earnings, or of retiring with them into the living death of the workhouse, should the task prove to be impossible . . . .

Mr. Asquith states that he knows no case "where the conscience of Parliament would have been quickened by the representation of women electors." If he will only listen, he will hear of many. For years, Bills dealing with the White Slave Traffic have waited for Parliamentary time, help being definitely refused by this Government. It was only by the agitation in America, only by the rousing of the churches in this country, and the speeches of archbishops in crowded halls, only by the fierce popular indignation shared by men electors, that the Government was made afraid to delay legislation further, and allowed a private Member's Bill to pass. This infamous trade has been built up for years under the eyes of the police, and the Government have again and again refused help. Even now facilities were given only on condition that no clause was added to raise the age of consent, which, we were told, would be fatal to the Bill. Mr. Asquith's advisers were of opinion that Members of Parliament would rather see English girls sold into the most degrading slavery, than consent to raise the age during which they were protected. It is only for children under eighteen that protection is asked; not for grown women. The great majority of fallen women are ruined before the age of eighteen. Women ask that the fair flower of womanhood should have at least the right to bloom before it can be crushed. At present, even in the bud, the law allows it to be trampled in the dust.

The legal age of marriage for girls is actually fixed by Parliament at twelve years! In no assembly where women had influence would such a law be tolerated. The saddest sight in the world is a child of thirteen or fourteen years of age tottering down the Maternity Hospital steps, destitute, and carrying in her arms a wretched infant, already doomed to death. Girls of twelve, or but little older, are victims of the White Slave dealer, who has only to go through a form of marriage with such a child and have her handed over completely into his power. In any foreign country he may then sell her, or live upon her earnings, as he may choose. An Englishwoman of any age who marries a foreigner must assume the domicile of her husband, and be subject to the laws of his country. . . . .

It is, however, by the artificial restrictions imposed by men upon her right to work that women suffer most acutely. Throughout the animal world, the female is free to seek her food as she will, and even the tiger permits his mate to hunt in the same jungle. Amongst human beings, women are dictated to by men as to how, when, and under what conditions they shall be allowed to earn their bread. Our whole society is a gigantic trades union of men combined against fair wages and free employment for women. All through the Civil and Diplomatic Service, men, and men alone, receive large salaries. Solicitors are allowed to exclude women from their practice; barristers forbid them to plead at the Bar; all positions in our State Church are for men only. Similarly, throughout our whole industrial world (except, perhaps, in some textile manufactories), we see women's work confined to the inferior branches of each trade, and men's trade unions allowed power to forbid any encroachment of women in any work they are pleased to consider their own. Any trade practised by women can be freely invaded by men. The result is that the average wages of women in this country are under nine shillings per week, and thousands of girls earn only five or six shillings. The iniquitous system of fines still flourishes; the sweating system is still grinding out women's lives, although Select Committees have reported condemning these abuses. Meanwhile, large grants of our national money are made to men—usually earning £2 and £3 weekly—for unemployment insurance. To women earning starvation wages no such insurance grant is given. Even the *Times* recently "allowed that the position of women in this country was profoundly unsatisfactory." . . . The Government is, in some respects, the worst sinner in the oppression of women workers. Was Mr. Asquith in office when a woman attempted suicide, by throwing herself into the Thames, because she could not endure the slow starvation resulting from making soldiers' trousers at 2½d. a pair? I could quote hundreds of cases of thoughtless injustice and of meanness which inflict hardship upon women who execute Government work. . . . .

Finally, Mr. Asquith would persuade women that "to be excluded from the franchise is in no sense derogatory to the honour and dignity of the female sex." What? No dishonour to be classed, politically, with idiots, criminals, paupers, and lunatics? No indignity to be placed lower than the thousands of illiterate male voters, who have a voice in national affairs? Surely, Mr. Asquith must think the female sex even less than human. When a few voters were excluded by a decision on the latch-key franchise, one of his colleagues declared "it was more than flesh and blood could bear." Many women regard exclusion from the franchise as a public insult, which deprives life of many of its joys and robs death of much of its terror. Political equality would make every husband think more highly of his wife; every son would honour his mother more; all women would stand higher in national respect; all men appear nobler in the eyes of women. Thus our standard of manners (about which Mr. Asquith so carefully inquires) cannot but be raised.

In face of these facts, can the Prime Minister still fairly maintain that no concrete case of injustice has been established? Can he still say that he thinks the conscience of Parliament needs no quickening? Can he still declare that there is no country that has better laws for women than England? Can he still imagine that women feel it no disadvantage to be shut out from political privileges? I do not think he can.

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NEW BOOKS

TWO EXCELLENT HOUSEHOLD BOOKS

"First Aid to the Servantless," by Mrs. J. G. Frazer (W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1s. net), is such a stimulating book as to be almost dangerous. On reading it, the ordinary youthful housewife (if not prevented by the natural human love of a cup of tea in bed in the morning) would forthwith discharge her "Imogen" or Emma Jane, and become at once the attractive "Lucy" of Mrs. Frazer's imagination. Of course, such an undisciplined character, left alone, and feeling for the first time that her house was her own, carried away by the fascinations of the labour-saving devices described. could not resist experimenting with them, until the return of her hungry husband recalled her to the necessity of providing food.

Seriously, it is a remarkably sensible, well-thought-out book, and for women who can "divest themselves of any feeling of snobbishness" should be most helpful. But, as Mrs. Frazer says, "The people whom it will be most difficult to convert to the idea of a servantless home, will be the men of the family." Even those to whom the cleaning of their own boots has no terrors, feel it "an indignity that their wives should have no servant"; "they will tire themselves out"—"even a bad servant is better than none":—

> Have men ever reflected that it is a far greater indignity for refined and cultured women to have daily and hourly association with a servant who is, perhaps, incapable, unwilling, untrustworthy, and even disagreeable? There is more strength wasted in attempting to teach incapable persons than in doing the actual work, and there is always wisdom and dignity in true independence.

Mrs. Frazer acknowledges that domestic treasures do still exist in rare instances, and those who "own" them should keep and value them as treasures are valued, but points out that as education progresses servants who are good and conscientious and *yet* capable, will less and less care to serve in small homes. And, in London especially, the maid's room is a covetable addition to the family accommodation. Those who, like "Mr. and Mrs. Smith," are "young and happy and brave," will be well-advised to buy this book, and give their minds to this method of solving the servant question. Mrs. Frazer has considered every difficulty, though she does not claim to have exhausted the problem; but she seems to have gone far in that direction in insisting on the necessity for co-operation and goodwill.

The only piece of advice the experienced cannot cheerfully accept and act upon, is that all "washing-up" should be done once a day—and that the last thing at night! The sight of all the dishes and implements used during the day, collected never so neatly and washed up never so daintily, by a valiant woman, could not but vex, if it did not exasperate, a devoted husband, who, of course, could not be expected to sit calmly at his ease during the process —or willingly, *every* night, to help.

I observe, when our authoress drops into poetry and gives a rosy picture of a day in a servantless home—with boys and girls in it, too—she finishes up with cosy chat and music after coffee in the drawing-room, and *no* suggestion whatever of meticulous tidying up, and preparing for the burden of the morrow.

For Intelligent Housewives

"The One Maid Book of Cookery," by Mistress A. E. Congreve, First Class Diplomée (Herbert Jenkins, 2s. 6d. net), is an excellent production, written by an expert who realises that only practice and experience will make a cook, and that her greatest need is common-sense. The Eastern proverb she quotes, "On each occasion use your sense accordingly," should be framed and hung in every kitchen, then no young housekeeper need be reduced to despair, like Bella Wilfer, by Mrs. Beeton's unreasonable demands. Mistress A. E. Congreve writes for intelligent people, and they will be quick to appreciate her avoidance of vain repetitions and clear, concise explanations; though many will regret that she has evidently no conception that there are people in the world to whom flesh-eating is impossible.

M. S. C.

USEFUL RECITATIONS

Miss Grace Alvey, LL.A., has arranged a number of "Character Sketches from Dickens" (Samuel French, 1s. net) for recitation as monologues. They are all female parts, and include Mrs. Gamp, Miss Flite, Mrs. Boffin, Fanny Squeers, Miss Knag, Mrs. Todgers, The Marchioness, Mrs. Nickleby, and Madame Defarge. As far as possible, all tampering with the sacred text has been avoided, and the directions as to dress and stage properties are quite sound. A useful little book for those who are constrained to give recitations.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Life of John Bright." By George Macaulay Trevelyan. (London: Constable. Price 15s. net.)

"A Short History of English Liberalism." By W. Lyon Blease. (London; T. Fisher Unwin. Price 10s. 6d. net).

"The Pain of the World." By Flora Ame[illegible] (London: Key Publishing Co. Price 6s.).

"Westminster Review." June. (London: Marlborough & Co. Price 2s. 6d. net).

"Religious Education for New Thought Children." With How to Tell Stories to Children. By Helen Rhodes Wallace. (Edinburgh: Higher Thought Centre, 49, Shandwick Place. Price 2s.).

"Theosophy and the Woman's Movement." By C. Despard. (London: Theosophical Publishing Co. Price 6d. net.).

"Nature's Mysteries and How Theosophy Illuminates Them." By A. P. Sinnett. (London: Theosophical Publishing Co. Price 6d. net).

A RUSSIAN HANDBOOK

"Things Seen in Russia," by W. Barnes Steveni, Professor of English in the College of Peter the Great, St. Petersburg (Seeley, Service and Co., 2s.), is one of a series of handy little volumes of "things seen" in various countries. This particular book contains an extraordinary amount of interesting information about Russian places, peoples, and customs, and should really be of great use to anyone intending to visit the country. The vivid touches bring Russia and its people before us, and the illustrations (fifty in number) are remarkably good and characteristic. We learn things not to be found in any guide-book, nor to be absorbed during brief travels, though they give the key to much that the traveller sees. These things are only gained by long residence in a country by one who knows the language and mixes with different classes. This book shows us, for instance, churches, palaces, works of art in cities; the ways of the peasants at home; work and life in every part of the vast dominion from north to south. There are one or two slips in language—surely "*soul* reminder" is one on page 117—and it is curious to learn that most Russian women marry—"excepting *the old* and plain." But the flaws are mere trifles, and do not interfere with the value of the book.

POPULAR SCIENCE

In "Heroes of Science" (Seeley, Service and Co., price 5s.), Mr. Charles R. Gibson, F.R.S.E., has collected much interesting and instructive matter illustrating the progress of science in the world's history from its earliest beginnings to the present day. It is in the form of biographies (some seventeen in all) of representative scientists, each one interesting and complete in itself, the whole making a very convenient volume of reference, provided with a list of dates and numerous excellent photographic illustrations. Starting with Pythagoras, we have the stories of great astronomers from Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo to the Herschels, brother and sister; John Dalton, Lord Kelvin and his brother, Faraday, and many others. Young people interested in science cannot fail to be fascinated by this book, which gives a comprehensive review of progress in many fields of research in a bright, readable manner. This is by no means saying that older people will not gladly dip into its pages for much useful information. Mr. Gibson has been at great pains to ensure strict accuracy in his facts, and has had the assistance of eminent men of science.

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FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1913.

WHO PAYS FOR SOCIAL REFORM?

There are a number of ideas that have never occurred to Members of Parliament. They never will until women get the vote.

The representatives of a male electorate have never grasped the fundamental idea that the woman is a human factor of every social problem, and that she possesses a very intimate interest in every scheme of social reform.

Social legislation of the present day is occupied with the working man so far as he is politically powerful and can force attention to his grievances through his great trade organisations, or so far as he is potentially a political asset for the next General Election. Apart from this compulsion the political philanthropy of the social reformer in Parliament is centred upon the child as the root and foundation of national health and happiness.

For all reform somebody has to pay. That is one reason why every section of the community has to have the vote. The vote is a guarantee that the payment will not fall on one class only to its despoilment, but that it will be fairly distributed. But women are denied the vote. And as we might expect, nearly every new scheme of social reform has to be paid for by women—not necessarily in the current coin of the realm, but in physique, labour, and privation. For social reform affecting children the mothers have to pay an unduly heavy share. And the worst of it all is that this is bad for the children and bad for the community, and is the cause of quite unnecessary failure to achieve the good result that is desired, namely, a higher standard of physical health and mental efficiency for the coming generations.

The raising of the school age for children, a reform of primary national importance, has increased to an extent little realised the tax upon the working mothers' physical and financial resources. It must be remembered that the assets of the working mother do not increase with the number of children to be fed and clothed. For every addition to the family somebody has to go on shorter rations. That somebody is generally—"Mother."

A few years ago, when "Tommy" at ten years of age could begin to earn a shilling or two a week, he could at least keep himself in shoe leather. Now thirteen-year-old Tommy's boots have to be paid for at the price of Mother's share of the family dinner. The most exhausting period of a woman's life, when she has a large family to work for during unlimited hours of daily labour and many mouths to feed on a limited number of weekly shillings, has been lengthened, and the struggle for life, severe enough before, has been intensified.

Moreover, the strict enforcement of school attendance, depriving the mother of the help of an elder child in some specially distressful family emergency, and also the legislation curtailing the employment of children out of school hours, has all tended in the same direction. Bit by bit the mother's burden has been made increasingly heavier without any additional strength being given her to enable her to support it.

It must not be supposed for one moment that we are not in fullest sympathy with all these important reforms, or that we do not desire further improvement along the same lines. We simply point out that as a matter of fact they are obtained at heavy cost to the mother, who bears more than her due share of the strain, and is taxed in physique to a greater extent than the community can afford to allow. If women had the vote these facts would be recognised, and some compensating alleviation to the mother would be brought about.

It must not be forgotten that an ever higher standard of cleanliness both in the person and the clothing of children is being rightly exacted by inspectors at the schools. More and more legislative consideration is being given to the personal safety of children in the home, largely by the enactment of new penalties and punishments not for the careless landlord, or the trader in dangerous wares, nor even for the legal parent; but for the poverty-driven, hard-pressed Mother.

While all lovers of the human race rejoice in everything that is being done for the children, many who are actually engaged in social work recognise and deplore the fact that in spite of all the attention given to the matter the standard of vitality and health does not appreciably rise as the generations of school children succeed each other.

Yet this negative result cannot be wondered at while a constantly increasing drain is being made on the vitality of the mothers of the nation, no corresponding immunities being given to compensate for the more and more exacting toll of responsibilities, duties, and labours demanded.

When physical strength fails, there is no rest for the mother. When she falls ill she is not entitled, as her husband is, to medical benefit and doctor's care. Threatened by "the white scourge," she has no right to sanatorium treatment except problematically as "a dependent." She has no security of maintenance, nor any right to a fixed proportion of her husband's wages; no insurance under the Insurance Act against premature old age; no claims on the community as a widow except for admission to the workhouse.

The cry of the trade union organisation, "Less work and more pay," represents the opposite extreme of the voteless woman's ever-shifting position as a working wife and mother. More work and less recognition, more physical output and less reward, more responsibility and less status, is the actual effect of most of the well-meaning but one-sided and unbalanced social reform legislation of the present day, so far as the working mother is concerned.

In short, the law has lost sight of her as a human being and treats her as a sort of machine for producing, feeding, and tending the rising generation.

No raising of the school age, not all the medical inspection and care of children, can put a permanent check upon the physical degeneration of a race that is persistently overtaxing its mothers, and draining away their vitality. We assert emphatically that the impossible is being demanded from working women to-day with an insistent, growing demand, unbalanced by any compensating immunities from the increasing pressure of economic and domestic conditions. We point out the canker at the root of social reform, and the reason of its failure.

This is one of the ideas that have never occurred to Members of Parliament, simply because women are deprived of that self-expression and self-protection that the vote implies. Nevertheless, the recognition of the futility of exhausting and devitalising the mothers with the well-meaning intent of raising the standard of health and well-being for the race is essential to the interest of the community.

THE TREATMENT OF UNCONVICTED PRISONERS

By G. R. S. Taylor, Barrister-at-Law

It is still somewhat uncertain how many respectable, peace-loving, democratic persons may find themselves in prison before a Liberal Government decides to enforce the elementary principles of its theoretical creed.

It is therefore proposed in the following article to consider the regulations which govern the treatment of prisoners who are in prison either on remand, awaiting the decision of a magistrate, or who are awaiting trial, after commitment by the magistrate. To avoid any misunderstanding, it is necessary to mention that only the English Rules are treated here. They will, therefore, not necessarily apply to the case of the militants of His Majesty's Opposition Front Bench, who may be planning operations in Ireland. The case of Ireland comes under a separate code of Rules. However, as these Tory militants are in the highest legal hands, it may be unnecessary to mention this fact.

The position of persons in prison awaiting trial, whether on remand or after commitment, is that they are subject to the general rules which apply to all other prisoners, except when these general rules are overridden by special rules dealing with their special case. This is important, because it means that in spite of the theory of the English Law that a man or woman is presumed to be innocent until proved to be guilty, he is, as a matter of fact, if on remand without bail, treated almost exactly like a convicted prisoner. The cell door is locked for the greater part of twenty-four hours every day, and other regulations of prison are enforced; while even the slight ameliorations provided for in the special rules are nearly all entirely out of reach of the pocket of the ordinary poor prisoner. These special rules will now be described in their more important details.

The visiting committee of a prison may allow a prisoner awaiting trial (whether on remand or after commitment), "on payment of a small sum fixed by the Commissioners," to occupy a special cell or room, furnished in a more luxurious manner than is usual in the ordinary way. As a matter of practice, the special cell or room differs but slightly from the cells of convicted prisoners. They can also allow special hours for exercise, and "to have at his own cost the use of private furniture and utensils suitable to his ordinary habits, to be approved by the Governor." The official mind that drafted this paragraph probably meant that the furniture and utensils—not the habits—were to have the approval of the Governor.

Further than this, there is a rule allowing a visiting committee to give the Governor permission to modify the ordinary prison routine to any degree he thinks fit where it "is clearly unnecessary in the case of any particular prisoner."

Any prisoner awaiting trial may procure at his own expense, subject to reasonable hours, &c., any food, clothing, or bedding which he or she may desire. There are such restrictions as that not more than one pint of liquor may be obtained within twenty-four hours.

A prisoner awaiting trial may also, with the permission of the Visiting Committee (though not apparently by consent of the Governor alone), be attended by his or her own medical adviser, and receive any medicine recommended thereby.

A like prisoner may obtain any books, newspapers, or "other means of occupation," except those which the Visiting Committee consider "of an objectionable kind." Of course there is wide latitude for disapproval here. When Mrs. Fawcett becomes a militant she will probably not be allowed to read the *Common Cause* in prison, and Sir Edward Carson may be forbidden to read the *Morning Post* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*. It is also to be noted that writing materials ars almost invariably refused.

Perhaps the most important rules are those which concern the right of an unconvicted prisoner to communicate with friends and legal advisers. Here are the exact words of the most important rule: "A prisoner awaiting trial shall at his request be allowed to see his legal adviser (by which is to be understood a certificated solicitor or his clerk, if the clerk has written authority from his principal), on any week day at any reasonable hour, and, if required, in the sight, but not in the hearing, of an officer." The sight and hearing clause is put into practice by the use of a glass door. But there are grave reasons for suspecting that the aforesaid door is not always soundproof, and prisoners have a legal right to insist on being beyond the hearing of prison officials. It should not be necessary for legal advisers to be compelled to put any communication into writing, because it is dangerous to discuss it with the prisoner by word of mouth, with a prison official, as one of the conference, outside the door.

A prisoner awaiting trial can insist on the admission of one visitor (or two at the same time if circumstances permit) for a quarter of an hour at appointed times on any week day, and, with the permission of the Visiting Committee, the time may be extended beyond the quarter of the hour, or more than two visitors be admitted at one time. In the case of personal friends there is, apparently, no right to see them alone, though of course a Governor has power to allow such a course. Otherwise the ordinary course is for the unconvicted prisoner, who in the eyes of the English law is presumed to be innocent, to have to see his visitors through the bars of a cage resembling cages for wild beasts, while a warder is in constant attendance and can overhear all that is said. It should be especially noted that visitors are not allowed either Saturday afternoon or Sunday—the only times which are possible to most members of the working class.

Regarding written communications with the outside world, all reasonable writing material must be supplied to the prison. But every bit of written matter is subject to the reading of the Governor before it leaves the prison (as is likewise any written communication coming in to the prisoner) except only in the case of a "confidential written communication prepared as an instruction for a solicitor," which is delivered to him or his clerk in person. With this exception, there is apparently no power to have confidential communications with the outside world. And, as we have seen, it is doubtful whether interviews with a legal adviser are in fact private, as the law allows.

It will be noted that the majority of the above rights of unconvicted prisoners who have been refused bail are in practice subject to the judgment of what the Governor and Visiting Committee consider "reasonable." The only rival to almost despotic power in a prison is the doctor, in whose hands undoubtedly very wide powers are placed. It is interesting to observe that it seems to be assumed, theoretically at least, that the ultimate health of the prisoner is to be protected at all costs. Thus, even in the extreme case where corporal punishment is ordered to be inflicted on a prisoner, there is an absolute rule that the doctor's instructions thereon for preventing injury to health shall be obeyed. There is also a rule that it is for the doctor to decide whether a prisoner is fit for dietary punishment. The infliction of forcible feeding is largely in the hands of the professional honour of the medical officers of our prisons. They are, as said above, instructed by the official regulations to forbid any permanent injury to the general health, even of the most abandoned criminal. One might leave the matter there, without further comment, except to add that experience justifies us in noting that punishment of various kinds can be inflicted on prisoners in prison on remand.

SWEATED WOMEN

By Constance E. Maud

It is a pity we cannot have a permanent exhibition of the sweated women workers of this great and glorious Empire. That organised by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage and the Women Writers, last Wednesday, gave those who know nothing of this vast underworld of grinding toil on which our prosperous nation is built, the chance of a passing glimpse, if they happened to have time to look in. But such a glimpse should be always available in order that more than a mere handful of the public should become a little acquainted with the conditions under which millions of their countrywomen are forced to exist.

Twelve different industries were represented. They were perforce selected from those whose work could be shown independent of machinery. Each worker sat busily plying her trade. No machinery could exceed the speed, the deadly precision, and the unwearying continuance of those workers. They never paused unless to answer a question, or show an enquirer the nature of their task. Yet one woman remarked with a patient smile: "I don't call this work; why, this is a rare treat, an outing—the only outing I've had for many a long year."

The wages of all averaged about the same, i.e., six to seven shillings a week for ten to twelve hours' work a day. One or two earned less, such, for instance, as the maker of black braid, the rate paid being 7d. per dozen yards, time taken—eight hours per dozen yards. The shirt-maker's condition can scarcely be said to have improved since the days of Hood, for, working like a motor at top speed, she only earns about 2d. an hour, and has to supply her own sewing-machine.

It is almost impossible to find any of these women workers who are not supporting others besides themselves, and even in such cases they have done so at some time, and will probably do so again.

One ancient dame on the verge of seventy, a flower-maker since the age of ten, had until recently, when she became a widow, supported herself and an old husband, the latter blind for seven years before his death. Working twelve hours a day she can earn about 8s. a week, and is proud to tell you that she manages on this without parish or any other aid. Her fine, brave old face lit up as I said: "What a good thing you've not long to wait for your seventieth birthday!"

Another worker, a pale, sweet-faced little woman of about thirty-five, was supporting an invalid husband and seven children, the youngest eight months old. The husband had been unable to work for four years owing to an accident for which he could get no compensation, the employer having gone bankrupt. Her work was trouser-finishing, each pair requiring the lining to be sewn in, fourteen buttons to be put on, and six button-holes made. By superhuman effort two of these garments can be done in an hour, with the assistance of the husband, who sews on the twenty-eight buttons. Recent Trade Board regulations have raised the pay from 1d. to 1¼d. a pair, and also oblige a minimum wage in this work of 3¼d. an hour. The way in which this apparently excellent rule works out is instructive. In order to obtain the work the women are obliged to declare that they can make three of these garments in an hour, otherwise the applicant would be dismissed as too slow a worker. The pace is accelerated in order to fulfil the required conditions of pay, but in spite of a pace that kills is a physical impossibility. The difficulty is met, either by working far into the night, or getting help, as in the case of the sick husband who came to the rescue. In many industries an outlay has to be made by the worker from her slender pay. The maker of rounder boots has to buy her own tools, which require renewing every few months, and also all the rivets, which cost sixpence per dozen pairs. Her pay is 3½d. a pair, and the time taken is one and a half to two hours each pair, her working day being ten to twelve hours, standing all the time.

The most noticeable thing about all these women was their remarkable efficiency; only this quality enabled them to obtain these wages. What of the inefficient?

And this "woman's work" is but partially represented by these long hours of toil. They are the keepers of a home—the cook, the laundress, the house-cleaner to a family, in most instances, and in many the bearer and rearer of children. This is how the great British Empire cares for the mothers of her sons, quite forgetting that the sons must suffer through these over-worked, under-paid, ill-fed mothers.

That great talker, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so completely forgets his own poor working mother, as to pass a Bill handing over the money due to a mother and her new-born infant, to the father and the public-house he may frequent. Mr. Lloyd George shows the same confusion of ideas as the tribe mentioned by Herbert Spencer, who celebrate the birth of a child by a great feast, on which occasion the father receives the guests in bed with the baby, and the mother rises and waits on the company. He needs a glimpse into the Sweated Women's Exhibition to refresh his memory with the stern facts of life.

WANTED—AS A PROTECTION

THE PROTECTION OF GIRLS

INTERESTING CONFERENCE IN LONDON

(By Our Own Correspondent.)

There was a splendid gathering of women, representing sixty-four societies, at the Conference held on Tuesday by the Criminal Law Amendment Act Committee. Among many subjects of pressing importance, the most prominence was given to the discussion of proposals for protecting young girls.

The Age of Consent

Speakers were agreed that the age of consent should be raised to eighteen years—Mr. Clarke Hall, K.C., wished it raised to twenty-one years where the man offending was the girl's employer, and able to take unfair advantage of his influence and opportunities—that boys and girls should, for their own protection, be educated in sex hygiene, and that boys as well as girls must be safeguarded from vicious persons. All were jealously anxious that in no particular should a lower moral standard for men be encouraged or tolerated, and hearty applause greeted the recurring demands for the woman's point of view in the making and administration of the law. The last man who spoke said the discussions of the day had very clearly shown the importance of this.

Dr. May Thorne, opening with a paper on raising the age of consent, said that many girls of sixteen were mere children, ignorant of the consequences of their acts, or of the responsibilities they might bring upon themselves. It was absurd for the law to forbid a girl to dispose of her property until she reached the discretionary age of twenty-one, and to allow her to surrender her chastity at the age of sixteen.

A Man's Point of View

Mr. Clarke Hall spoke of the public apathy in these matters, which presented greater difficulties than any existing legal disabilities. His suggestion that sexual intercourse under the age of eighteen, and prostitution under the age of twenty-one, should be made an offence in the girl herself in all cases when she was over fourteen, was obviously made in the idea that she could thereby be more easily subjected to reformative influences, but it was vehemently opposed by the women speakers.

Mrs. Rathbone, P.L.G., urged that there should be an extension of time from six to twelve months for prosecutions in cases of criminal assault; otherwise, the man often got off scot free, because the girl's people discovered her condition too late, or he had persuaded her to hush the matter up. Thirty-seven per cent. of the cases of assault against little children in England were incestuous. Parents had often such a low standard of morality that the father claimed a right to treat his own child as he chose, and the mother weakly acquiesced. The unwillingness of juries to take assault cases seriously, and the failure of the law to regard offences against the person as comparable in importance with offences against property, were bound to continue until the woman's point of view was recognised.

The Illegitimate Child

A good deal was said about the unsatisfactory working of the Affiliation Act, and the consequent high death-rate of illegitimate children. Miss Ethel Naish urged that where a man evaded payment of the order, an attachment order should be issued, directing his employer to deduct the amount from his wages, and pay it to the mother of his child. Several women spoke very strongly against the assumption in Mr. Hanbury Agg's speech that marriage between a man and the mother of his child would necessarily make matters all right, and nothing was more applauded than Mrs. Nevinson's: "If he saw some of the putative fathers he would not think that. I once tried to bring about such a marriage, but I will never do so again."

Dealing with illegitimacy and prostitution, Dr. Marion Phillips said it was useless to tinker with ameliorative legislation while economic conditions remained unchanged. The great thing was to secure decent wages, decent housing, and proper working conditions for men and women. What was the use of trying to treat the problem of illegitimacy while men and women could not afford to marry, or of prostitution while people were herded into dreadful homes and girls denied a living wage?

Women Police

Miss Constance Tite, who has investigated the system of women police in Germany, where they are employed by thirty-one towns of varying character, gave an interesting account of their work, and pointed out that their great value lay in the fact that—unlike women police-court missionaries in England—they have a recognised official position and definite powers. They are usually appointed through women's associations, which often pay their salaries, though in some cases this is done by the police department. They are mainly engaged in preventive and rescue work among children and women. Sometimes they are also employed in regular police work. Frau Schapiro, of Mainz, has ordinary police functions of control, repression, and prosecution of public immorality. She has also to watch certain streets and suspicious persons, and to take part in night raids on doubtful hotels and lodging-houses, and, in conjunction with the *police des moeurs*, she conducts the whole official business with the keepers and inmates of tolerated brothels, for which she has devised a system of book-keeping which prevents the girls from being cheated. This combination of duties is strongly opposed by many people, and the women's associations especially dislike women being in any way employed in the State regulation of vice. In Berlin Miss Tite was able to watch the work of another police assistant, who, though appointed and supported by the Women's Evangelical Association, has her own official rooms, is given generally a free hand in her efforts to reclaim women, and makes regular reports to the head of the department. She is present at the medical examination of women prisoners, and may take charge of the examination of child witnesses.

Public opinion in Germany, concluded Miss Tite, is generally in favour of these women police assistants, and while at first officials were inclined to regard them as interlopers, it is recognised now that they do valuable work which men could not do.

◆

THE VALUE OF WOMEN AND OF PROPERTY

Commenting in *Forward* on the case of Mr. Donald MacEwan, who is now undergoing a sentence of nine months' imprisonment in Scotland, Miss Janie Allen writes:—

"Yet the only thing proved against Donald MacEwan was sympathy with the woman's cause. Incredible as it may appear, he is condemned to nine months' imprisonment because it was proved that he had ordered the taxi which took the women to Kelso, the scene of a frustrated attempt to set fire to a race stand. It was further proved, on the strength of the evidence of one witness, that he had accompanied them there. There was nothing to show that he had taken any active part in the affair. The only thing clearly brought out at the trial was that he appeared to be in sympathy with the aims and methods of the militant women. For this 'crime' he is undergoing nine months' imprisonment.

"Let us compare the case of Donald MacEwan with that of other members of his sex condemned to the same punishment. The following are statistics of the year 1911-12. For defilement and indecent assaults on girls under 16 and on little children, 18 got 9 months, 144 were sentenced to 6 months, and 106 to 3 months, while quite a number escaped with the trifling sentence of 1 month, and, in some cases, 14 days.

"This appalling fact, therefore, stares us in the face—in the eyes of the law, the desecration of the bodies of little girls is a milder offence than active sympathy with the women who are militant because of these crimes against children!"

Terrible Case at Barnstaple

As an instance of the kind of thing which, as Miss Allen says, has helped to make women militant, the case of William Thorne, reported in the *North Devon Journal* for May 22, would not easily be equalled. He was brought up before Messrs. Barrett, Daw, and Arnold, borough magistrates, in Barnstaple Police Court, on a charge of having more than once indecently assaulted a little girl under thirteen. The Bench consulted in private, found him guilty, and sentenced him to *a fine of £5 and costs; the alternative, in default, was one month's imprisonment*. When the prosecuting counsel was about to proceed to another case against the defendant, the Chairman stopped him, saying that *only a nominal fine* would be imposed in the case of a further conviction.

This is the kind of sentence that can well be compared with those passed on Suffragist offenders!

"Truth's" Comment

Truth, after relating this incident, goes on to say:—

"The magistrates had it in their power to pass a sentence of six months' imprisonment, and if ever there was a case in which imprisonment was richly deserved it was this. Magistrates who so lamentably fail to appreciate the gravity of such an offence deserve to have their names recorded."

The same paper also gives the following instance of the low status of women in the eyes of the English law:—

"At the Birmingham Police Court, before Messrs. A. E. Butler, H. H. Carrod, and T. Waterhouse, a navvy was charged with assaulting his wife. He had only struck her in the face with his fist, knocked her down, and kicked her about the head, so the magistrate let him off with a mild lecture about the cowardliness of a man striking a frail woman. As just previously the same bench sent a man who had thrown a glass at a publican to prison for a month, it would seem that the Birmingham justices have not yet rid themselves of the old belief that a wife is a chattel with which a man may do as he pleases."

Yet *Truth* does not believe in the enfranchisement of women!

◆

THE SPOILT DARLING OF THE LAW

A member of the Fellowship sends us the report of two cases taken from the *Brighton Herald* of Saturday, May 17, which do not seem quite to bear out the contention of the anti-Suffragists that woman is the spoilt darling of the law. On the preceding Wednesday a woman aged twenty-nine was given twenty-one days' hard labour for placing herself in East Street, Brighton, "for the purpose of gathering alms." When the police interfered with her, according to the evidence, she fought so hard that her baby had to be taken from her for safety.

On the same day a man aged thirty-seven was also brought up at Brighton before the Bench and charged with "ferocious assault." His wife, who was the victim of the assault, bearing on her throat the swollen marks of the man's fingers, pleaded with the Bench for mercy for him. The police evidence showed that the prisoner not only tried to strangle his wife, but also fought with the constables who arrested him, and assaulted his jailer in prison. There could be no doubt of the gravity of the charge as compared with that brought against the woman in the case cited above, where her offence was merely that of begging, and violence was only shown when the police interfered with her. Yet in the man's case—"After some hesitation," the magistrates fined him 10s. and costs.

Ten shillings against twenty-one days' hard labour!

◆

WOMEN AND JURIES

With regard to the recent publication of the Report of Lord Mersey's Committee on the Jury system, the delegates to the Conference of the Cleveland Federation of I.L.P. Branches, held at South Bank, passed the following resolution last Saturday:—

"That this meeting regrets that neither the majority nor the minority reports of Lord Mersey's Committee on the Jury System mentions the necessity of women serving on juries. It demands, therefore, that the system shall be altered in the very near future, so that women must serve on juries."

The I.L.P. branches represented were Skelton, Loftus, Marske, Guisborough, Carlin How, Eston, South Bank, and Middlesborough.

FOLLOWERS OF HAMPDEN

MRS. CECIL CHAPMAN

[Photograph kindly lent by the "Daily Sketch."]

TAX RESISTANCE

MRS. CECIL CHAPMAN

Two important sales have taken place recently in connection with the refusal of women to pay taxes as long as they continue unrepresented. On May 31 Mrs. Cecil Chapman, the wife of the well-known London magistrate, had a ring sold by distraint at Battersea on account of her refusal to pay Property Tax. A very large crowd was present in the auction rooms, but there was only one bid for the ring, this being the exact amount required to pay the tax. Mrs. Chapman was then called upon to address the people in the room, who were most enthusiastic, and subsequently a meeting was held at the Battersea Town Hall.

◆

TAX RESISTANCE SALE ON VILLAGE GREEN

Goods were sold on May 24 belonging to Miss Honnor Morten and Miss Roll, on the village green of Mark Cross, a Sussex village. After the sale a most successful protest meeting was held, at which the speakers were Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Reginald H. Pott. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson referred to the absurd anomaly of Miss Morten, who had done so much for the children of London, being refused the elementary political right to vote, and of her advice being scorned by the Government in matters referring to child welfare. Amongst the audience were several well-known women doctors, including Drs. Helen Webb, Margaret Todd, and Emily Tomlinson.

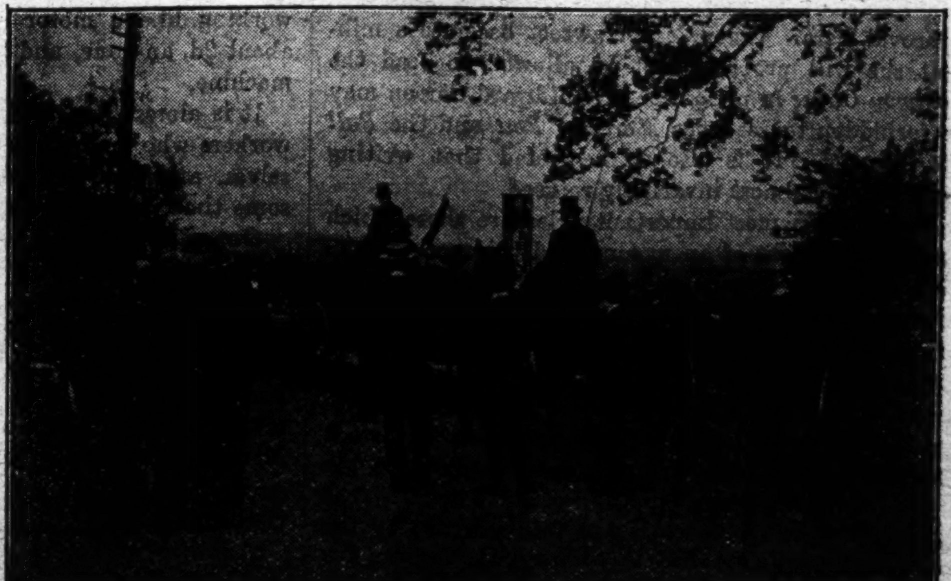
◆

TAX RESISTANCE

At a general meeting of the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, on May 22, the following resolution was brought forward on behalf of the Committee by Dr. Adeline Roberts, and carried unanimously:—

"That passive resistance to taxes is a right and proper form of individual protest on the part of those who are debarred by sex alone from exercising the Parliamentary franchise."

Dr. Adeline Roberts had goods sold at Hampstead, in consequence of tax resistance, on May 27.



MISS HONNOR MORTEN'S TAX-RESISTANCE SALE—MRS. COBDEN SANDERSON SPEAKING

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

A memorial has been sent to the Prime Minister urging the further employment of women as civil servants otherwise than in the Post Office. An explanatory memorandum points out that the review of the Civil Service now being conducted by a Royal Commission gives an urgent opportunity for amending certain unsatisfactory conditions of women's employment, largely due to the novelty of this kind of women's work and the occasional manner in which it has come into use, and for extending their employment in directions where it would be valuable, especially on account of the large amount of modern legislation which touches home life.

The memorial is as follows:—

To the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.

Sir,—We desire to express to you our conviction that the best interests of the community would be furthered by increasing the number of women in the Departments of the Civil Service outside the Post Office, and by improving the conditions of their employment, in which we would include bringing these conditions into closer conformity with those of similar work of a good standard outside the service.

The very great and continued extension of the authority of the State in matters closely touching the life of the people has, in our view, led to a pressing need for women's services in administration.

We would urge, in respect of clerical employment,

> That women candidates should be required to attain such an educational qualification as should fit them for varied clerical work, and that women should be eligible for promotion in the same manner as men clerks:
>
> That women clerks should rank in the divisions recognised throughout the Service according to the nature of their work:
>
> That provision should be made for the admission of some women to clerkships of the First Division, especially in Departments which, like the Education Office, the Home Office, the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, and the Insurance Commission, are concerned with women and children, with many of the conditions of home life, and with the domestic management of institutions.

We would also urge

> That women should be eligible for scientific and other specialist appointments, especially in the State Museums, on the same conditions as men, and with full opportunities of work and promotion; and
>
> That, as there are now 600 women typists and shorthand writers in the Civil Service, and a large number of other women employed in, or in connection with, the Service in various capacities, and as the number will probably increase, it is desirable that a suitable woman should be appointed at a member of the Civil Service Commission, especially if the number and functions of that body should be extended.

Arthur H. D. Acland.
Margaret Ashton, M.A.
Henry Bentinck, M.P.
J. F. Bethune-Baker, D.D.
Florence E. Booth.
Edward H. Busk, M.A., LL.B.
F. C. Burkitt, M.A.
Christine M. E. Burrows.
H. Montagu Butler, D.D.
Alfred Caldecott, D.Litt., D.D.
Rosalind Carlisle.
J. Estlin Carpenter, D.Litt., D.D.
E. T. Cook.
Alfred Dale, M.A., LL.D.
James Donaldson, LL.D.
S. A. Donaldson, D.D.
W. M. Geldart, M.A., B.C.L.
J. S. Haldane, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.
F. Haverfield, M.A.
Arthur Henderson, M.P.
W. P. Herringham, M.D., F.R.C.P.
Ellen C. Higgins, B.A.
M. J. M. Hill, M.A., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.
Robert F. Horton, M.A., D.D.
T. McKenny Hughes, M.A.
H. Jex-Blake.
E. E. Constance Jones.
Henry Jones, LL.D., D.Litt.
Sarah Anne Lees.
Oliver Lodge, D.Sc., F.R.S.
W. S. McCormick, LL.D.
Howard Marsh, Sc.D., J.P.
John Masefield.
H. W. Massingham.
C. A. E. Moberly.
J. O. F. Murray, D.D.
Gilbert Murray, D.Litt.
John L. Myres, M.A.
Karl Pearson, M.A., F.R.S.
Emily Penrose, M.A.
A. F. Peterson, K.C.
Edward B. Poulton, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S., P.L.S.
John Rhys, M.A., D.Litt.
C. Grant Robertson, M.A.
M. E. Sadler, C.B., LL.D.
Mary Scharlieb, M.D., M.S. Lond.
C. P. Scott.
W. B. Selbie, D.D.
Eleanor Mildred Sidgwick.
A. Sidgwick, M.A.
George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., L.E.D.
J. A. Spender.
Katharine Stephen.
May Tennant.
Margaret J. Tuke, M.A.
A. W. Ward, Litt.D., P.B.A.
James Ward, Sc.D., LL.D.
Mary A. Ward.
Beatrice Webb.

A PRESS COMMENT

A Hopeful Assumption

Apart from the introduction of women typewriters, a matter in which the example set by commercial houses could not be withstood, the rest of the Civil Service is still almost exclusively a male preserve. There are some legitimate reasons, for instance the difficulty under some circumstances of running mixed departments of men and women, which account in part for this restriction. But it is only in part; and the experience of the business world, with its ever-increasing employment of women at nearly all stages from the top to the bottom, is making rather ridiculous the Government practice in the matter. The Prime Minister, who as Home Secretary twenty years ago appointed the first women factory inspectors, may be assumed to be personally favourable to the demand for change.—**Daily Chronicle.**

WOMEN AND SCOTTISH HOME RULE

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies sent a circular letter to members of Parliament on May 30, asking them, on the occasion of the second reading debate of the Scottish Home Rule Bill, "to protest against the exclusion of women from any share of representation in the proposed Scots Parliament." The letter went on to say:—

"The Bill proposes to set up a separate Legislature in Scotland to deal with Scottish domestic and local matters, such as education, public health, marriage, and divorce, regulation of conditions of labour for men and women. These are matters which especially concern women. . . . We would urge upon all suffragists . . . to protest against the setting up of any new representative body which gives no share of representation to women."

"If Necessary"

The only mention of Woman Suffrage that occurred in the debate in the House was made by Mr. Cowan in moving the second reading of the Bill, when he said, "The present electorate will be the electorate for the Scottish Parliament, which will have power to deal with its own franchise, and, if necessary, the power to enfranchise women."

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS ONLY

A strong letter from the London Graduates' Union appeared in the Press the other day, pointing out why "Mr. Dickinson's Bill and the division upon it admittedly reflected the exigencies of Parliamentary compromise and the influences of party considerations." The letter goes on to say: "The point of view which did not have adequate consideration was that of the women to whom the reform is of vital importance. They desire the assertion of the principle that they should be regarded equally with men as 'persons' in the eye of the law, and that neither their sex nor their marriage should be a bar to electoral privileges. On the other hand, they do not ask for any electoral privilege which is not extended on the same terms to men, for whom marriage is neither a qualification nor a disqualification."

Mr. Asquith Answered Again

After insisting that the sex disability should be abolished before the basis of the franchise undergoes alteration, and "a grave injustice and source of discontent" be thus removed, the signatories to the letter (Lady Busk, B.Sc., Miss Roberts, M.D., and Mrs. Gwynne-Vaughan, D.Sc.) conclude as follows:—

"Mr. Asquith's argument that no injustice of the laws to women was demonstrated during the debate in the House only brings us back to the fact that women have no means of ensuring that their full case shall be presented there. The grievances of voters are voiced by themselves through their representatives, and when women have the vote no Minister will hold that there is no time to attend to them or that those who have made laws for them in the past without their consent are better judges of what is good for them than they are themselves. Mr. Asquith's attitude is that of despotism in all the ages, whether it be the despotism of one man or of one class or of one sex. It is the negation of the principle of representative government."

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SOUTH AFRICAN SUFFRAGISTS

Parliamentary Situation

The formation in 1912 of a Parliamentary Committee in the South African House of Assembly has done something towards bringing the question of Woman Suffrage within the sphere of practical politics. In the Session of 1912 the question was blocked in Parliament by the fact that a Bill for Electoral Reform was already before the House, although it was pretty generally known that this Bill was not to be proceeded with. At the beginning of the session of 1913, however, Mr. Andrews, a Labour member, introduced the motion which had been blocked in 1912, and the debate on it was opened on February 11, and then adjourned to March 5, when the adoption of the previous question prevented a straight vote from being taken.

Where We Were Before 1905

As far as we can judge, the Parliamentary position of Woman Suffrage in South Africa is very much what it was over here before the adoption of militant tactics in 1905, except that the younger Parliament has not so many sins to its charge in the matter of the past treatment of the question as our own House of Commons had at that date. But the nature of the recent debate in the House of Assembly strongly recalls the ante-militant period in our British Parliament, being well sprinkled with the dear old arguments about woman's "place," while the Prime Minister expresses himself "not unfavourable to the motion," but of opinion that before he can support it there must be more evidence of a widespread movement among women, and so on, and so on, and so on. How familiar it all is!

The most favourable sign in the South African situation is, to our mind, the fact that there are estimated to be only about 40 avowed supporters out of 120 members in the House of Assembly, and about 8 out of 32 in the Senate. This sounds slightly more honest than was the case with our House of Commons before the touchstone of militancy was applied to it. The really unfavourable point is reached in the Woman Suffrage situation in any country when an overwhelming majority of M.P.'s are "in favour" of the Bill—and the Bill is shelved. We believe the Mother of Parliaments leads the way, however, in this method of procedure. It is to be hoped that her South African child will approach the Woman Suffrage question with a better regard for the rules of the game.

THE CASE OF EDWARD CARGILL

In the House of Commons, on June 2, in answer to Mr. Snowden, the Home Secretary said that Edward Buckton Cargill (who was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in February last for serious offences against girls) "was released on medical grounds. His condition was critical. In advising his release I acted on the report of the Medical Officer of the prison and of a consultant called in by the Prison Commissioners at my request. His condition not being due wholly or in part to his own conduct in prison, the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act did not apply."

In answer to further questions, Mr. McKenna said that the prisoner in question had served six weeks of his sentence, was suffering from a mortal disease, and was released "as in other cases in similar circumstances."

This means that Mr. Cargill will not be re-committed to prison.

THE VICTORIA PARK DEMONSTRATION

With regard to the lurid Press accounts of the Suffrage demonstration in Victoria Park, which we corrected in last week's Votes for Women, we are glad to see that we have the support of the *East London Observer*, which in a leading article entitled "A Press Matter," says:—

Our representative was in the Park, and nothing of the kind occurred. The police had no occasion to intervene, and beyond a little horseplay by a few rowdies, the customary shouting at the speakers, and the quiet removal of one of the "platforms" to the gate, the demonstration was quite an ordinary affair. . . . It is a great pity that a fashion should have grown up among the Press to magnify Suffragette affairs in this way, and that newspaper conductors should be willing to accept without investigation these highly-coloured pictures. They appear to act from the point of view of *Punch's* old lady, who would "rather have false news than no news at all."

"HALF A J.P."

We are glad to note that when the Lord Chancellor's authorisation of Miss Emily C. Duncan to sign certifications in lunacy was intimated to the West Ham Board of Guardians last week, Miss Kerrison, one of the six women Guardians on the Board, said she welcomed the appointment as a sign that our legislators were now recognising women's work in the world. Women, she said, were not only able to certify lunatics and deal with them as the law required, but they were able to perform the other duties of Justices of the Peace, and they would not be satisfied till they had the power to sit on the magisterial bench.

CHARGE AGAINST 'SUFFRAGETTE' PRINTER

Mr. Whiteley Committed for Trial

Mr. Edgar Whiteley, manager of the National Labour Press, who printed the issue of the *Suffragette* for May 9, was last Saturday committed for trial (on bail) to the Assizes by the Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate on a charge of

"Conspiring on April 29 and divers other dates with Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst and others unlawfully and wickedly to solicit, instigate, and incite divers women, being members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and others, unlawfully and maliciously to do and commit in and upon the real and personal property of and belonging to liege subjects of His Majesty injury and spoil to the amount of £5 and upwards."

SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE

To complete the case for the prosecution more evidence was called to prove damage to pillar-boxes, showing that in the Manchester district, between February 10 and May 27 of this year, fifty-seven pillar-boxes had been attacked, and about 1,190 postal packets damaged. Only one pillar-box, however, had been attacked since May 9.

The Charge

Sir William Cobbett, saying he would not call evidence, then made a speech for the defence. He dealt first with the charge which was that of conspiracy, and conspiracy alone. He proposed to meet that charge by asking, first, the Stipendiary Magistrate to find that there was no evidence to convict the defendant of conspiracy, no matter what the contents of the paper of May 9 were. Secondly, he proposed to submit that if the paper of May 9 did not contain matter of incitement it was no evidence of conspiracy in publishing it. Thirdly, he would submit with confidence that the paper did not contain any matter of incitement to commit offences at all.

What is Conspiracy?

With regard to the first point, Sir William said that, as laid down in Russell's "Crimes," the gist of the offence of conspiracy was not in doing the act or effecting the purpose for which the conspiracy was formed, nor in attempting to do it, nor in inciting others to do it, but in forming a scheme or agreement between the parties. The conspiracy was not in inciting others. He contended that in this case there were absent all the usual elements of evidence which went to form a conspiracy, and proceeded to show that there was no evidence that the defendant ever saw or spoke or corresponded with either of the two persons named in the charge, or that he ever communicated with any other members of the Women's Social and Political Union. It was not suggested that he came into the conspiracy before May 7; since then Mrs. Pankhurst had either been in prison or under police surveillance, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst had been in Paris. Where was the evidence of a conspiracy? He did not dispute that evidence had been brought there to show there was a conspiracy to incite people to commit offences between some members of the Union and other members of the Union. But his client was not concerned with it at all, and he submitted it was of no importance in that case.

The Evidence of Conspiracy

Sir William then submitted that the only evidence was that of an isolated transaction between a limited trading company, of which the defendant was a servant and in which the defendant took part, by which that company executed certain work in the ordinary way of its trade for the association in London, some of the members of which, it was alleged by the prosecution, were conspiring with other members. He submitted that that evidence was insufficient. It was unheard of to suggest that a trader who had had a trade transaction in the ordinary course of business with persons who were said to be conspiring together for some improper purpose should be found guilty of conspiracy.

Counsel further pointed out that the Public Prosecutor did not seem to think that White, a witness in the previous hearing, who printed the *Suffragette* in October and November last year, was a conspirator. Possibly, it might be said that White was not warned. But a warning did not create an offence. A house at Lincoln's Inn had been rented by the Women's Social and Political Union. Was the landlord a party to the conspiracy?

The Issue of May 9

Sir William Cobbett then proceeded to his second point, that if the *Suffragette* of May 9 did not contain matter of incitement, not only was it no evidence of conspiracy, but it was no offence at all. He asked whether the mere printing of any issue of the *Suffragette* was evidence of a conspiracy, and referred to Mr. Bodkin's statement in the London prosecutions of April 30, and to the Home Office circular issued later, which put quite a different complexion on it. In the interval the number in question of the *Suffragette* was printed.

With regard to the paper itself, he submitted that it contained no matter of incitement, and that the defendant had read all the proofs and could not discover anything of such a nature in them. The prosecution, he contended, could find no trace of it unless they read between the lines, and put what he ventured to say would be a tortured and unnatural meaning of the phrases or words used. One had to go back to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and refer to some of the prosecutions in those periods to find such constructions put upon words as were put on words in that paper by the prosecution.

"Vigorous Agitation"

Proceeding, counsel took exception to the fact that the prosecution had dealt with that case throughout as if the only object of the Women's Social and Political Union was the inciting, encouraging, and organising of offences. There was no ground for that proposition at all. The prosecution had put in the annual report and constitution of the Union, and every one of the objects mentioned there was entirely lawful. There was nothing to suggest that the constitution was for the encouragement of violence. Yet when he called attention to it, Mr. Hewart pointed to a passage dealing with "vigorous agitation." He could conceive Mr. Hewart taking part in a "vigorous agitation" for another object. As a matter of fact, the Union was perfectly lawful in its conception, and militancy had occurred as a sort of excrescence, and was *ultra vires* to its constitution.

Returning to the issue of May 9, Sir William analysed it at some length, maintaining that Mrs. Pankhurst's message in it may have contained a suggestion as to the continuance of the policy of the Union, but there was no language of incitement. The prosecution had argued that the putting together of news on a particular subject connected the paper with militancy, but reputable papers like the *Manchester Guardian* did the same.

A Strained Interpretation"

Finally, counsel asked, was it not really intended to suppress the *Suffragette* altogether, so as to prevent the suffragists from getting any benefit from it? His client had never intended to support militancy at all, and believed he had issued a paper to which no reasonable person could take objection. By a strained interpretation the prosecution were trying to make out the case against him, but it was hoped they would be left to take the risk and sustain the consequences of pressing an indictment elsewhere without the Stipendiary Magistrate's help.

THE MAGISTRATE'S DECISION

The Stipendiary Magistrate said that in spite of the form of the observations made by Sir William Cobbett, he was of opinion that there was evidence which ought to be laid before the jury—in the first place that the paper did contain incitements to crime, and in the second place that the defendant entered into the conspiracy alleged in the charge. He therefore thought it his duty to commit the defendant (on bail) for trial.

MR. DREW'S CASE

The following statement was made last Friday by the London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*:—

"I stated a few days ago that some lawyers were of the opinion that the undertaking given by Mr. Drew, of the Victoria Press, not to print the *Suffragette* nor any document issued by the Social and Political Union was bad in law, and that steps would be taken to raise the legal point. I hear that the matter is now in the hands of a firm of solicitors, that counsel's opinion has been taken on the legal question, and that something will probably be heard of it in court next week. The National Political Reform League is taking an interest in the matter."

The case was to have come up at Bow Street last Wednesday, but was postponed owing to the death of the Chief Magistrate.

THE BODKINIAN DOCTRINE

At a Meeting of the Central London Branch of the National Union of Journalists last Friday, a resolution was adopted protesting against the Bodkinian doctrine that newspapers may be suppressed before publication, on account of the supposed character of their anticipated contents; and declaring that any attempt to intimidate printers from printing a newspaper not yet published on account of its anticipated contents is illegal.

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THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE

Freedom of the Individual at Stake

The coercive measures adopted by the Government in order to repress the Suffrage movement offer such a grave threat to the freedom of the individual that the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies met last Monday in order to pass some important resolutions dealing with the actions taken against Mr. Pethick Lawrence and other Suffragist defendants in the course of the militant agitation. The resolutions unanimously passed, after serious deliberation, were as follows:—

(1) "That the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies view with grave apprehension the encroachments of the Crown as shown in the recent actions against Suffragist defendants.

"In particular, they consider that to demand, in addition to the punishment of imprisonment, costs from defendants who are convicted for offences committed from unselfish ends in the course of a political agitation is contrary to British principles of justice. They draw attention to the fact that such a judgment was recently so given, in spite of the jury's recommendation to the judge that, 'taking into consideration the undoubtedly pure motives that underlay the agitation,' the judge should be pleased to exercise the utmost clemency in dealing with the case.

"The Council are of the opinion that the discretionary power of the judge ought not in such cases to be exercised against the defendant, and was probably not originally intended to be so exercised. They consider, therefore, the decision to be a dangerous precedent, and one likely to lead to the corrupt prosecution of political opponents.

"Further, they desire to express their great appreciation of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's action in so gallantly fighting against payment of the costs of his trial, as a result of which he was admitted by the Crown to be a political offender."

Freedom of Speech and Press

(2) "That this Federated Council of Suffrage Societies desires to call urgent attention to the present coercive measures of the Government, by which the liberty of the subjects of this country is gravely infringed, and in particular to the attempted limitation of the rights of Free Speech and a Free Press, rights which have been gained as a result of centuries of struggle."

THE PLAIN HISTORICAL FACT

Speaking of the alleged atrocities of the Balkan allies, Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., writes in a letter to the *Times* as follows:

"The plain historical fact is that where self-government has been granted in the Balkans the chronic disorder (varied by massacre) which characterises Turkish rule has disappeared."

If only our legislators would recognise with equal fairness that where self-government is granted in any country, and whether to men or to women, the disorders consequent on the refusal of self-government invariably disappears!

THE ACT OF 1908

THE DANGEROUS POSSIBILITIES

The Lawrence case has further proved that in the case of a conspiracy charge, where more than one person is prosecuted, any one of the defendants can be made to pay, not merely the costs of his own prosecution, but also those of all his co-defendants. The dangerous possibilities of such a situation will be apparent. For instance, consider for a moment the power it gives a Government to bring about the ruin of those responsible for the publication of a newspaper against which it may decide to take proceedings. Manifestly such an inequitable state of the law cannot be tolerated. After recent events, it is scarcely necessary to add that the present Liberal Government is responsible for the enactment of the particular law embodying this injustice; that we imagine our readers will have taken for granted. It was so recently as 1908 that "The Costs in Criminal Cases Act" was passed.—**Labour Leader.**

CONTINUED PALTRY PROSECUTION

No one doubts the ability of Mr. Pethick Lawrence to pay the costs, though they total to hundreds of pounds, but as the first person against whom the new law has been put into operation, he feels that the duty is forced upon him of resisting to the utmost limit, even though it involves him in the toils of bankruptcy. Now let it be clearly understood that the same legal machinery which has been set in motion against Mr. Pethick Lawrence can just as easily, when occasion demands, be set in motion against the Labour movement and particularly the Labour Press. . . . It will be said that this is an extreme view of what may happen. Unfortunately, our experience of the law is that we have to take extreme views of its possibilities for harm where Labour is concerned, and the continued paltry persecution of Mr. Pethick Lawrence is an object lesson of what Labour can expect when once it gets within the meshes of the law.—**Pioneer (Woolwich).**

MILITANT INDIANS AND MILITANT WOMEN

The following letter has been sent by the Union of Ethical Societies:—

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Morley of Blackburn, Lord President of the Council.

My Lord,—On behalf of the Council of the Union of Ethical Societies we appeal to you to use your utmost influence in persuading your colleagues in His Majesty's Government to introduce immediately a Government measure conferring the Parliamentary vote upon women.

We appeal to you because your Lordship is not only a champion of democratic principles, but also because when recently you were faced in India by a situation similar in many ways to that which is rapidly developing itself in the Militant Suffrage Movement in this country, your high-minded statesmanship showed the true way to deal with it. You did not resort to ever-increasing methods of repression. Instead, even at the risk of being charged with merely acting from motives of fear, you insisted on a policy of justice and generosity. You brought what threatened to be a reign of terror to an end by acknowledging the high motives and the legitimate purposes which were behind it, and by meeting, in so far as was consistent with the good of the State, the demands of the disaffected. There was no question but that you could have eventually crushed out the unrest in Bengal by force. But you preferred to meet it with sympathy and understanding. You conquered it by justice and equitable compromise.

No one can deplore more deeply than we the outrages recently committed in the name of Women's Suffrage. We view with the greatest alarm the prospect of increasing irresponsibility and demoralisation amongst the militant suffragists, and the danger both to the public and to themselves involved in attacks upon property and the reprisals which disorderly and brutal persons are already beginning to visit upon women, with small discrimination as to whether they are militant suffragists or not. We are satisfied that methods of violence are absolutely inimical to the Women's Cause. But we are equally convinced that it is the policy of repression, and the indignities inflicted by the Government upon the Suffrage Movement, now over a long period of years, which are wholly responsible for the present painful state of affairs. We would urge that when women are willing in large numbers to risk death or permanent enfeeblement by starvation, in order to show devotion to the cause of political freedom for their sex, or when, in blind or miscalculating exasperation, they resort to arson and bomb-throwing, it is an outraged sense of justice which is the real cause, and it is this, and not perversity or criminality, which is to be legislated for.

Not repressive laws or regulations, but the recognition of the sanity and justice of the women's claim to some measure of Parliamentary enfranchisement, is what the situation really demands. Herein alone, in accordance with the highest traditions of English Governmental policy, is the truly dignified and statesmanlike way of overcoming incipient revolution. It is because we are certain that your Lordship already in a special way feels the truth of these considerations that we pray you, with the peculiar authority that your long and noble record, both as a philosophic thinker and as a statesman, gives to you, to plead earnestly with your Lordship's colleagues to abandon the policy of repression, and, in a spirit of enlightened liberality, of which you have given them so excellent an example in India, to meet the women's demands.—We remain, your Lordship's most obedient servants,

H. C. MIALL SMITH, Chairman.
H. SNELL, Secretary.
Union of Ethical Societies, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C., May 31, 1913.

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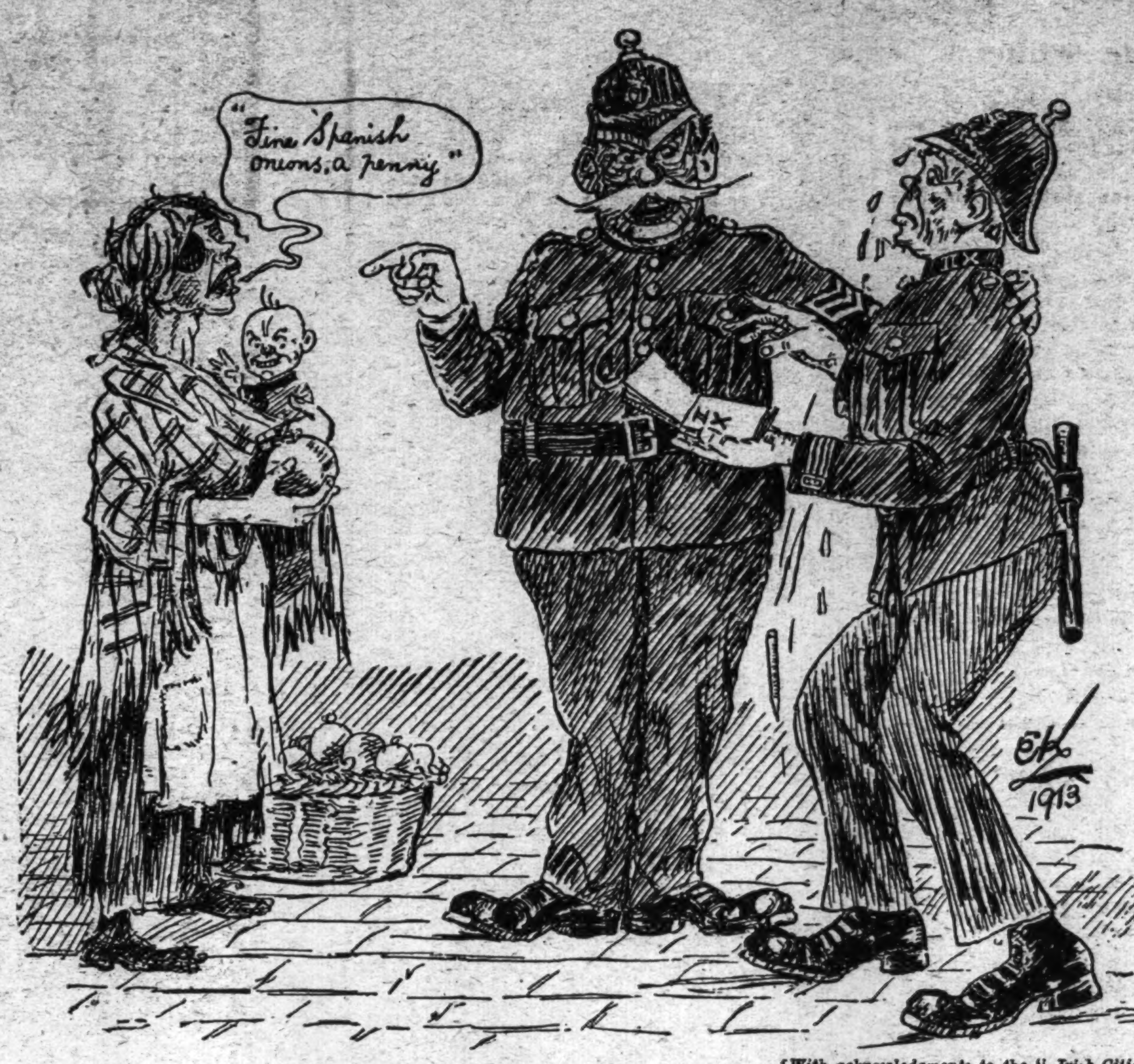
AS LIKE AS TWO PEAS

Sergeant Cull, of Tottenham, who has won a reputation for making peace between husbands and wives who come for relief to the police-courts, hit upon a great truth, which is at the bottom of the Suffrage movement, in the course of a conversation he is reported to have had recently with a Press representative. He said it was his experience that when a man and his wife quarrelled they did not take the trouble to understand each other. The man just said, "Oh, she's a woman!" And the woman said, "Oh, he's a man!" Sergeant Cull then went on to remark, "My experience has taught me that, temperamentally, women and men are as alike as two peas." That is the whole point. Men and women are alike human beings, and half the trouble in the world comes from the persistent denial of that fact. Sergeant Cull has admitted it. But the British Cabinet won't.

THE SUFFRAGETTE SCARE IN DUBLIN


"Fine Spanish onions, a penny"
1913

[*With acknowledgments to the "Irish Citizen."*]

Discovery by the Intilligence Department of a Disguised Militant Selling Bombs

CORRESPONDENCE

MR. CLAYTON'S DEFENCE

Dear Sir,—May we ask your readers to assist us in securing that Mr. Edwy Clayton should be properly defended in the forthcoming trial, in which he is being charged for conspiracy, along with certain members of the W.S.P.U.? For years past Mr. Clayton has been an enthusiastic supporter of woman suffrage, and at the present time he has no private means out of which to pay for an adequate defence. In asking that contributions for this purpose should be sent to H. J. Gillespie, Esq., 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C., we would remind your readers that a man is to be regarded as innocent unless and until he is found guilty, and it is for the purpose of enabling him to establish this innocence in face of the skilled counsel upon the other side that the money is required.—Yours, &c.,

(Signed) J. FORBES-ROBERTSON.
GEORGE LANSBURY.
H. D. HARBEN.
H. W. NEVINSON.
H. J. GILLESPIE.

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"WOMEN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Mrs. McKenna's severe criticism in her letter of April 18 in VOTES FOR WOMEN is so one-sided that I cannot let it pass, even at this distance.

Mrs. Annie Levy proved conclusively in her article of March 21 the necessity of woman standing up for her rights. Had the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 27) not asked for their *due*, Lord Roberts' daughter might not have had the dignity of her lamented brother's inheritance conferred on her with so little trouble. Had Caleb's daughter not asked for the well, her property would have been worthless.

The parallel instance has this difference, that while the daughters of Israel pleaded before a just Law Giver and an indulgent father, the daughters of Britain plead before men who answer us with iron rods, and act like the hero of the Chapter (Gen. iii.) Mrs. M. C. McKenna quotes.

It is the same thing, only from a different point of view.—Yours, &c.,

SARAH GLUECK.

Springs, Transvaal.

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PRINCIPLE OR PARTY?

Prominent Liberal Chooses the Former

The following letter of resignation has been sent to Mr. J. C. Hope, M.P., by Mr. T. Blair, Vice-President of an important Liberal Association:—

Dear Mr. Hope,—I am sorry to be obliged to send you my resignation as Vice-President of the Haddingtonshire Liberal Association. I have been connected with the Association for over twenty-five years, and regret to sever the old tie. But the refusal of the Government to deal fairly with the question of Women's Enfranchisement, coupled with the recent unconstitutional measures used against women who are agitating, however violently, for what every true Liberal believes to be their plain right, are utterly opposed to the spirit and tradition of Liberalism. I have not departed from the principles of Liberalism. It is the Liberal party itself which has apparently departed from its traditional belief in the principle of representative government. Hitherto it has stood for Liberty and Progress. It now stands for the suppression of Free Speech, free newspapers, and for Russian methods of torture. There therefore remains to me only the choice between Liberal principles and the Liberal party. I prefer the former.—I am, yours faithfully,

T. BLAIR.

Hoprigmains, Gladsmuir, East Lothian.
May 29, 1913.

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WHAT NEW ZEALAND THINKS OF SUFFRAGETTES

We received recently an interesting communication from our Special Correspondent in New Zealand, who afterwards went on to Australia, whence she sent us the account we published last week of Miss Vida Goldstein's election campaign. We select the following passages:—

Our campaign in New Zealand is drawing to a close, and Miss Newcomb and I feel quite convinced that the majority of thinking men and women here are with their British sisters in the fight for the Vote at home. We were told that we should have a hard task in securing support for our cause, as the violence of the Suffragettes, as reported in the cables, had alienated all sympathy for it. We were agreeably surprised to find that many people, men as well as women, sympathised with the Suffragettes just because they had put up such a good fight, although the New Zealanders little knew the provocation that the champions of the woman's vote had received. . . . We have interviewed the editors of some of the chief papers in the Dominion, and most of them see that the publication of the cables, which only state the damage done by members of the W.S.P.U., gives an unfair impression of the fight, and nearly all of them have published our lectures and their interviews with us almost verbatim.

An Imperial Suffrage Union

We have carried a motion at several meetings to empower us to help to initiate the formation of a "Women's Suffrage Union of the Dominions Overseas," in which New Zealand will be the leader, as she was the first nation to give the vote to her women. We shall hope to secure the adhesion of the Australian women to the scheme on our journey through that country, and as South Africa has invited us to return there, we may be able to obtain the alliance of the women of that Union; later, we will see if Canada will not join us.

A Free Womanhood

It is very remarkable how the fact of being actual or potential voters makes the women and girls of this Dominion so much more ardent for liberty and so much less hidebound by convention than their representatives in the Old Country. The men have learnt, too, to look at all questions from the *human* point of view, and one feels inclined to exclaim when they enumerate their opinions, "How did you learn to be so broad-minded upon social questions?" The woman's ideas, when she is a voter, are taken into account, and become, as it were, incorporated into the man's, so that we get the best type of legislation, one that is absolutely fair to both sexes. One editor of a leading paper said to us, "Oh, you need not try to convince me of the need for the women's vote. My mind becomes a complete blank when anyone advance any arguments against that. They seem such arrant nonsense to me, as I have witnessed the working of the franchise for women for twenty years."

The great sympathy with the Suffragettes in their struggle, forces many here, unswerving as is their devotion and deep as is their reverence for the Homeland, to realise that a cruel injustice is being practised upon their sister women in denying them the elementary rights of citizenship.

Margaret Hodge.

"ULSTER WILL FIGHT"

INCITEMENT WITH IMPUNITY

In view of the proceedings which are being taken by the Government against one of the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN with regard to the costs of last year's Conspiracy Trial, and against the permanent officials of the W.S.P.U., and the printers of the *Suffragette*, and Mr. John Scurr, and Mr. George Lansbury on charges of inciting to the destruction of property, we think the reproduction of an article that appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* last Monday, under the title, "Ulster Will Fight," should give our readers cause for reflection. Up to the time of going to press, no legal proceedings have been taken with regard to this article. We give it verbatim, with all its inflammatory headlines:—

"ULSTER WILL FIGHT."

BRITISH LEAGUE ENROLLING MEN.

MOUNTED TROOP READY.

AN ARMY OF 10,000 MEN IN PREPARATION.

"P.M.G." Special

Six months ago the British League for the support of Ulster and the Union was formed. Since then it has worked silently, but none the less effectively, in preparing for the hour of supreme crisis, should that hour unhappily come.

"In spite of the attempts to ignore it," says Lord Willoughby de Broke, the chairman of the League, "the vital matter of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland is hurrying to a crisis. Two things are quite certain:—

(1) The House of Lords has no power under the Parliament Act to refer the Home Rule Bill to the electors.

(2) The Ulstermen will not obey a Parliament seated at Dublin, and will not be coerced into doing so without resisting by force of arms.

"What the League seeks to do is to show the Government that they are not only out against Ulster, but against every Unionist in Great Britain."

This is being done with remarkable success.

Ulster's Dauntless Courage

"Is the Parliamentary situation regarded as hopeless?" a prominent and active member of the League was asked by a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

"Quite," he replied. "The time for speaking is past. We do not want men to speak for us, but to shoot for us."

"What are you doing?"

"We have already got nearly 150 Army agents scattered about England who are enrolling men to stand by Ulster and the Union, whatever the consequences. We are, in fact, preparing for the worst, and nothing else matters at all."

"Are you then preparing for armed resistance to Home Rule?"

"Certainly. For this Ulster has quite made up its mind, and is facing the situation with dauntless courage. So are our English Unionists. We have, for instance, had an assurance from one quarter that a troop of fully-equipped mounted men are prepared to obey whatever orders they receive from us. From Cheltenham, Berkshire, Brighton, Bournemouth, Portsmouth, and other places splendid reports have been received. In every case the man enrolled promises his services without any reservation, and it is significant that 75 per cent. of the men enrolled are retired Army men. Within three months we shall have 7,000 men, capable of bearing arms, and well organised, prepared to serve under orders. Every man is heart and soul in the cause, and will support himself."

The Committee

The committee of the League includes Lord Willoughby de Broke, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Charles Beresford, Viscount Castlereagh, Viscount Lewisham, Colonel Hickman, M.P., Mr. Peto, M.P., Mr. Ronald McNeill, M.P., and Mr. Charles Clarke, while the secretary is Mr. T. Comyn Platt. At present the headquarters are at 25, Ryder Street, St. James's.

This week Sir Edward Carson, Captain Craig, M.P., and other prominent leaders of Ulster Unionism, will attend a meeting of the League in order to confer with the committee as to the best means of employing the services of the men who are prepared to sign the attestation form, but at present it is contemplated that whenever peril is imminent a great force will be despatched to Ulster to join with the Unionist forces in their defence of the Union.

It is quite clear that the men of Ulster are not fighting only for their own liberties. Ulster will be the field on which the privileges of the whole nation will be lost or won.

We therefore appeal to all British citizens who sympathise with Ulster, and who value their own freedom, to join the above League that has been formed to support the men of Ulster in the great struggle that lies before them. All who wish to join are requested to send their names and addresses to the Hon. Secretary, T. Comyn Platt, together with a contribution to a fund that has been opened for carrying on the movement.

This appeal has been signed by many distinguished men, and already has met with enthusiastic response.

If need be, Ulster will fight, and before many weeks 10,000 men will be prepared to join their Ulster brethren in the fighting line.

EXHIBITION OF SWEATED WORK

"The economic argument for the enfranchisement of women was very forcibly presented," says the *Manchester Guardian*, when on Wednesday in last week an exhibition of sweated women's work, arranged by the Women Writers' Suffrage League and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, was held in the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel. A strange contrast was presented by the sight of those twelve victims of a rotten social system, sitting toiling away at their abominably underpaid work, in the heart of wealthy London, on a hot summer day at the height of the season. And even then the real gulf between those who worked and those who looked on was not apparent; for it needs the genuine surroundings of the sweated home worker really to show that. "Making buttonholes," said one of the women, "is brainy, nervy work; you can't do it properly with the children about." That, in a sentence, calls up the home life of these underpaid workers—the one room, with the children in it, and all the attendant squalor and unhealthiness and suffering—and a twelve hours' day, with a weekly wage of 7s. or 8s. at the end of it all.

Violets at three-farthings a Gross

At one table sat a grey-haired old lady, from Dalston, who for fifty years had been making artificial flowers at the rate of 2d. an hour; and to do even that she had to drop making violets, because they were paid only three farthings a gross! This woman kept her blind husband by her toil. Yet the "Anti" would tell us that women are paid less than men for their work because they are "supported by their husbands."

Another woman sat making brushes. She has been doing it for sixty years, and can do it automatically. Yet at the end of twelve hours' work, in the course of which she has punched some 3,000 holes, she has made only 1s. 7½d. Still worse was the case of the woman who makes dancing shoes at 10d. per dozen pairs, and earns, with luck, a weekly wage of 6s.; or of the woman who makes toothbrushes at 3d. a dozen; or of the maker of stuffed dolls, who gets 4s. a gross, *finding her own materials*. Nor is it fair to say that only unskilled labour earns these starvation wages. What is to be said of the skilled braid-maker, who was also to be seen at the Knightsbridge Exhibition, following skilfully the complicated pattern set her to do, and whose pay is 7d. for a dozen yards of braid, which take her eight hours' close and continuous work to make?

One stood in the middle of that gruesome assemblage of human victims and remembered what H. G. Wells once said in a public speech on this very subject of sweating. He was a great tennis-player, he said, and he was anxious to use only tennis-balls that had not been made under sweated conditions. After long and exhaustive inquiries, he found that *tennis-balls made under fair conditions were not to be obtained.*

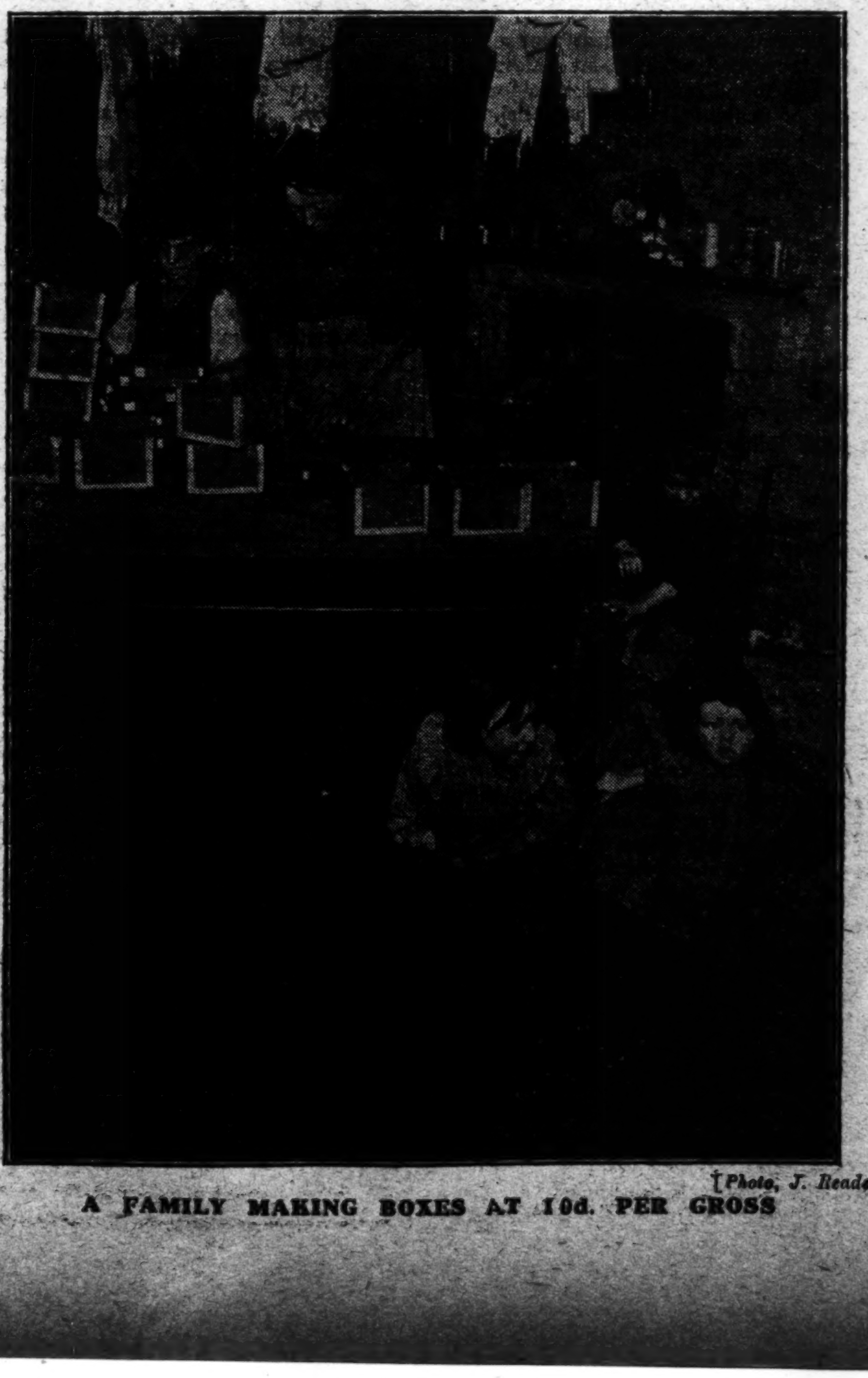
The Speeches

The promoters of the Exhibition made excellent speeches in the course of the afternoon, and they made the connection clear between sweating and the political disability of women. The speakers included Miss Clementina Black, Lord Lytton, and Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, the latter of whom closed an admirable speech with the words:

"The State has tinkered with this problem of sweated labour, but it has failed simply because it has never recognised that it is a question which must be dealt with by women. We must remember that 95 per cent. of the sweated workers are women. . . . I arraign the Government and the men of England for the shocking mismanagement which makes it possible for women to be employed for twelve to fourteen hours a day in order to earn 7s. a week. If the men of England were worth their salt, they would have altered such a condition of things long before now."

We reproduce on this page a picture of a woman box-maker at work in her home, aided by her children, three of whom are not more than babies. She is paid at the rate of 10d. per gross, and by the end of the week has managed to earn something less than 8s.—that is, if she is able to get the work to do, which is, of course, not always the case in any of these sweated trades.

Can we wonder that there should be a growing conviction as to the close connection existing between low wages and immorality?



[Photo, J. Reade.

A FAMILY MAKING BOXES AT 10d. PER GROSS

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

In the Victoria Park demonstration of May 25 the N.C.S. was valiantly represented by Miss McGowan, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, and Mrs. Kerr.

The noon meetings in Hyde Park the last two Sundays have been even more peaceful and sympathetic than usual.

Lady Meyer was our speaker at the At Home on the 27th, and Miss McGowan addressed a most successful meeting in the Arthur Hall, Dover, on the 28th. The same evening, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Wright kindly lent their house in Pembridge Crescent for a delightful dramatic and musical entertainment, given in the interest of the new premises fund.

Both our President and our Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Hartley, have recently had forced sales to pay the taxes, the levying of which they resist as unconstitutional.

Wanted

Volunteers are urgently needed for work during this busy month.

Poster Parades

For some time, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck has arranged parades of posters of a most effective kind. Suffragists of various societies have recognised the value of this most important work, and have given their services up to the present. The longer the parade the less possible is it for the numerous passers-by to escape attending to its significance, and this kind of work is some of the most striking that constitutional suffragists can undertake. More volunteers are needed. Will those who can spare a couple of hours write to Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and arrange to be at 17, Tothill Street, at 3 p.m. on Mondays and Thursdays?

Lady Byron is lending her Hampstead house and garden for a fête on June 25. In order to make this known, helpers are wanted who will give out bills or carry posters.

Miss Simeon would be glad to hear, at the central office, of anyone who can assist in this work at Hampstead.

It is anticipated that the new large room will be opened on June 24. We want a great rally on this occasion to celebrate a birthday of growth.

Coming Events

June 8.—Sunday. At noon, near the Marble Arch. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss McGowan.

June 9.—Fakenham public meeting. Speakers, Mrs. Mayer, Miss Eva Ward.

June 10.—8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Summer Sale. Miss Gertrude Elliott. Come and buy!

June 10. — Dereham public meeting. Speakers, Miss Eva Ward, Mrs. Merivale Mayer.

June 12.—3 p.m., Putney. Mrs. Diplock, The Lerries, Putney Park Avenue. Speakers, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss A. Wright.

PICTURES AND VOTES

The plucky demonstration by woman suffragists in the Royal Academy last Tuesday afternoon, when banners were unfurled and a ten minutes' impromptu meeting was held in Gallery 5, recalls a passage in Miss Olive Hockin's speech from the dock a few weeks ago. Alluding to her profession as an artist and then to the hideous condition of our slums, she said: "What's the use of painting pictures when there's nothing but a pigsty to hang them in?" And the first speaker who arrested the attention of the gaily-dressed crowd in Burlington House had the same idea in her mind when she reminded them, "unconscious of any sarcasm," as the *Daily Herald* puts it, "that there were pictures outside even uglier than those inside, and she wanted them to see both varieties."

Of course an outraged member of the British public fetched the police, and the meeting was closed as summarily as if it had been started in a people's public park, but not before a great many men and women had listened to what the speaker had to say.

TEMPERANCE WOMEN WANT VOTES

At last Friday's sitting of the National British Women's Temperance Association a resolution was unanimously passed on the motion of Mrs. Ormiston Chant, calling upon Parliament to "break down the sex barrier which was keeping women outside the pale of free citizenship and speedily to entrust to them the duty of voting in Parliamentary elections."

Knowing as we do that temperance reform has followed in the wake of women's enfranchisement all over the world, we are not surprised at the unanimity shown by the British Temperance Women in demanding the vote. But we wonder, rather, that only two hands were raised against Lady Dorothy Howard's somewhat uncalled-for motion, repudiating and condemning the "lawless methods of the militants," and it shows a narrowness of outlook among the delegates to the Conference that when Lady Horsley wished very properly to add the words, "while recognising the gross provocation which women have received," only three people voted for the consideration of the amendment.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists:—

Thursday, May 29.—Fire among timber stacks in the goods yard of the Great Central Railway, Queen's Walk, Nottingham.

During Wednesday night three fires at Richmond: a stack of straw at a farm, another at a market garden, and stables and outhouses at another farm.

Refuse box in Cannon Street set on fire.

Motorists complained of tacks found on high roads around Doncaster.

Friday, May 30.—Telegraph wires cut between Magor and Llanwern, Mon., Suffragist literature found. Wires also cut at Taff Vale Station.

Pillar-boxes attacked at Lewisham and Rushey Green.

Cardboard box filled with cotton-wool and tow, saturated in methylated spirit, with lighted tapers attached, found in small room at the Royal Academy; no clue.

Saturday, May 31.—Attempt to burn Shields Road Railway Station, Glasgow, during the night; considerable damage.

Sunday, June 1.—Beechlands signal box, near Wendover, burnt during the night.

Monday, June 2.—Corrosive acid poured on some of the greens of the Rossington Golf Links, near Doncaster.

Tuesday, June 3.—Rough's Boathouse, Oxford, completely destroyed by fire, also many boats; damage estimated at over £3,000.

Wednesday, June 4.—A manor house, unoccupied, at Westwood, Trowbridge, completely destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £15,000.

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IN THE COURTS

Friday, May 30.—At the Cambridge Borough Police Court, on remand charged with having set fire to a house at Cambridge, Miriam Pratt; committed for trial at the Assizes in October, bail allowed.

Saturday, May 31.—At the City Police Court, Manchester, before the Stipendiary Magistrate, charged with conspiracy as the printer of the *Suffragette*, Mr. Edgar Whiteley; committed for trial, bail allowed.

Wednesday, June 4.—At Doncaster, in connection with an alleged attempt to burn a house, Mr. Harry Johnson; remanded.

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THE IRISH PRISONERS

A mere threat of a hunger-strike has been sufficient in the case of the Irish Suffragist prisoners to obtain from the Irish Executive full political rights. Within a few hours of the time the hunger-strike was to start on Monday last a change of treatment was intimated to them. Mrs. Palmer, Miss Ryan, and Miss Walsh are therefore recognised in Tullimore Gaol as political prisoners, a right which has not been granted to their English sisters.

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SUFFRAGETTE FLOWER FESTIVAL

"ROSES, ROSES, ALL THE WAY"

The Summer Festival of the Women's Social and Political Union opened at the Empress Rooms, Kensington, last Tuesday, and will continue open until June 13. Mrs. Mansel in an interesting little speech declared the Festival open; she said she brought good wishes and encouragement from Mrs. Pankhurst, whom she had just left, and who sent good cheer to both sellers and buyers.

Entering the rooms from the hot sunshine of the street outside, the chief sensation is one of coolness, shade, and delightful colour; inside it is like a beautiful rose garden under an Italian blue sky. All the aisles are roofed and bordered with pergolas, covered with pink rambler roses, and in the centre of the hall a fountain plays in an illuminated basin set in a grass lawn, where are clipped box trees and garden seats. All round are stalls heaped with goods of every description—there is a book stall, a toy stall, there are hats, dresses, soaps, scents, and on the lawn itself a most excellent sweet stall. Certainly the most beautiful stall is the flower stall, which one finds in a deep recess before one enters the main room; the effect of it is very charming, with its flowers and lights and painted walls. Hardly less attractive is the farm produce stall just opposite, and, speaking of eatables, one should not forget to mention that there is a very good refreshment room upstairs.

The "side shows" are excellent. The Actresses' Franchise League, with their usual generosity, are giving entertainments every afternoon and evening; there are also performances by Miss Margaret Morris' child dancers. Besides all this there is a photography studio, and a corner where lightning silhouettes are taken. And all the while there is delightful music provided by the Æolian Ladies' Orchestra. Certainly one gets one's money's-worth at the Suffragette Flower Festival in Kensington!

COMING EVENTS

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will hold a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, June 8, at 5 p.m. Speakers, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lieut. and Mrs. Cather, and Mrs. Brailsford.

The Actresses' Franchise League announce a meeting, for women only, in the Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly Circus, on June 6, at 3 p.m., at which Miss Abadam will speak on "White Slaves—Supply and Demand." Chair, Miss Lena Ashwell.

The Catholic Women's Suffrage Society have arranged a meeting to be held at the Suffrage Club, on June 10, at 3.30 p.m., when Miss Smyth-Piggott will speak on "Why the Church should support the Woman's Movement."

The New Constitional Society will hold a Summer Sale at their offices on June 10, at which Miss Gertrude Elliott will speak. A speciality will be made of country produce.

The League of Justice will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club, on June 11, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and Mrs. Ennis Richmond. Subject: "The Policy of the League."

The Women's Freedom League announce a public meeting at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on June 11, at 3.30 p.m., when Mrs. de Fonblanque will speak on "The Revelations of Women's Suffrage."

◆

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Gra ton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE." Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking, to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organising Secretory, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting at Portman Rooms, Baker Street (entrance in Dorset Street), next Wednesday afternoon (June 11) at 3.30. Speakers: Mrs. de Fonblanque on "The Revelations of Woman Suffrage" and others. Admission Free.

LEAGUE OF JUSTICE.—A meeting will be held at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James's, S.W., on Wednesday, June 11, at 3.30. Speakers: Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck and Mrs. Ennis Richmond. The chair will be taken by Miss G. E. Chapman. Come, and bring a friend.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

PEN PAINTING COMPETITION RESULT, Regent Art Shield, 119, Regent Street.—First Prize, £2 2s., Mrs. Buchanan, 63, Netherby Road, Edinburgh; Second Prize, £1 1s., Miss Gladys Jackson, Bankfield, Norfolk Road, Harrogate; Third Prize, Miss Duesbury, Whitecot, Albion Road, Sutton; Consolation Prizes, Mrs. Maitland, Glencairn, Sunningfield Road, Hendon; Miss Clara Betts, 33, Walsingham Road, Clapton; Miss Clark, 456, Seven Sisters Road, London.

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